

U.S.I. JOURNAL

(Established 1870)



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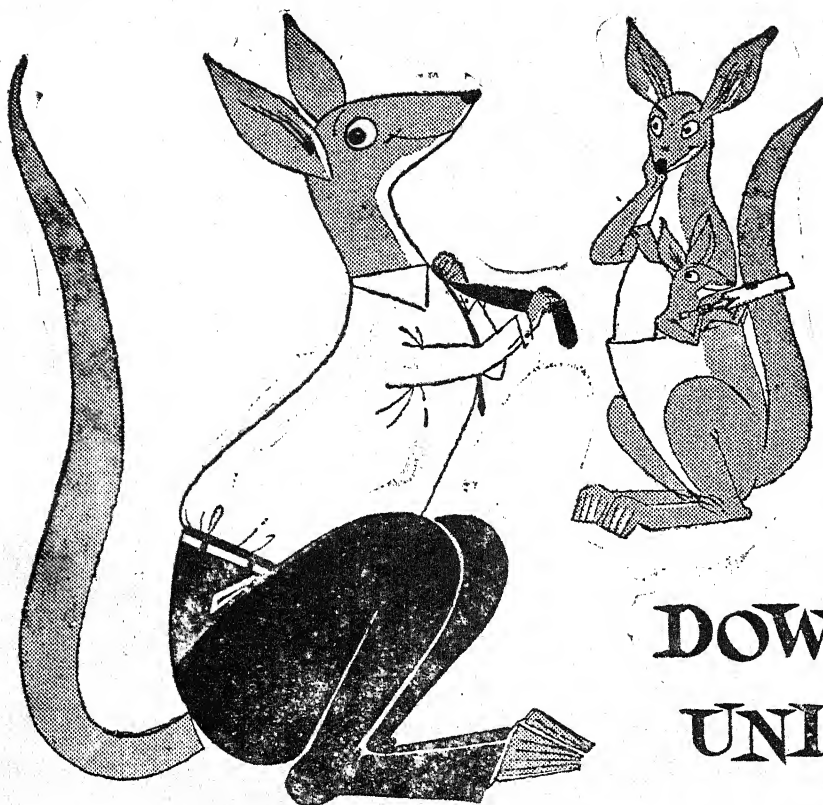
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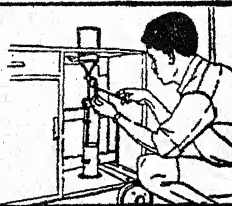
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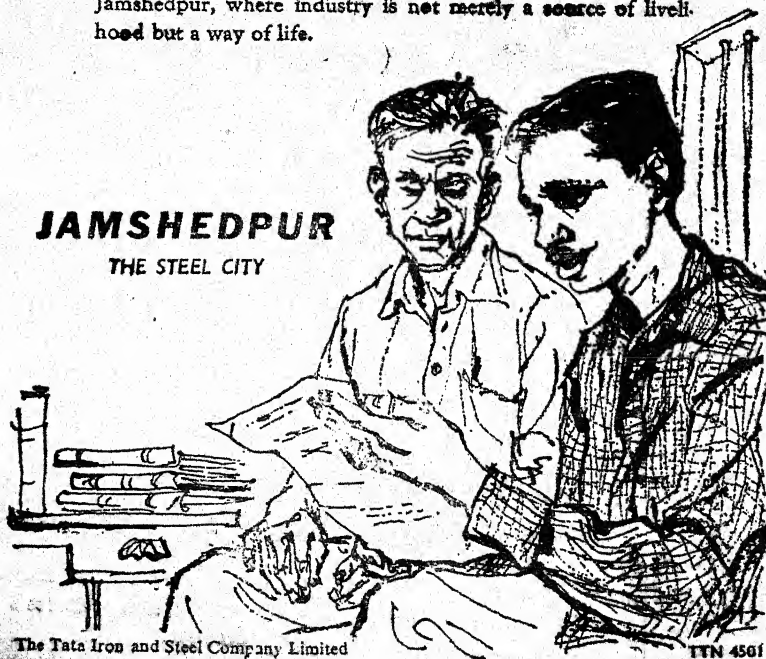
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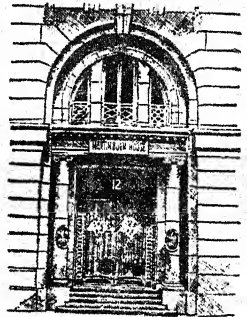
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No liveried footmen or blazing chandeliers remain to proclaim the grandeur and gaiety that once pervaded the large red brick mansion that still stands in Calcutta's Hastings Street and which Warren Hastings, India's first Governor-General, built for his charming wife as her town house. For many years this fine residence was the scene of glittering assemblies and balls, the entrée to which was considered a high social privilege.

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The Defence Minister, Shri V. K. Krishna Menon, the late Air Chief, Air Marshal S. Mukerjee, and the present Chief of the Air Staff, Air Marshal A. M. Engineer

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EDITORIAL

THE I.A.F. — 28 YEARS

On April 1, 1961, the Indian Air Force will celebrate its 28th anniversary. While felicitating the Service on this day and on the overall progress it has made all these years, we record in our columns, with sorrow, the great loss to the Service by the sudden death in Tokyo on November 8, 1960, of Air Marshal Subroto Mukerjee. The Air Force has been deprived of its distinguished Commander and architect, one whose own Service career had traced the development of the youngest of India's Armed Forces. Under his stewardship, the Air Force had come to acquire a sturdy structure, a progressive outlook, an operational fitness and a fine tradition of loyalty.

The command of the Service has now fallen on the shoulders of another distinguished airman, Air Marshal A. M. Engineer. Air Marshal Engineer has been associated with flying since the late twenties when aviation was still in its infancy in this country. He was only 17 when he won the Agha Khan prize for flying "solo" from England to India.

Air Marshal Engineer, who has throughout been second in seniority only to Air Marshal Mukerjee in the I.A.F., has held practically every category of command and staff appointment in the Service. He was the first to be awarded the D.F.C. for operational duties in the North-West Frontier. From the latter half of 1948 until the cease-fire, he was in overall command of air operations in Jammu and Kashmir. In 1958, while Deputy Chief of the Air Staff at Air H.Q., he was appointed Managing Director of the Hindustan Aircraft, Ltd., Bangalore. Thus, the command of the Air Force is now in the hands of one who is not only a pioneer airman but has also guided the destinies of India's aviation industry and under whose stewardship the H.A.L. undertook, "inter alia", such projects as the development of the supersonic HF-24 fighter.

The year 1960 will stand out as a landmark in the growth of the Air Force. Perhaps, the most important event during the year was the des-

patch of an I.A.F. contingent to the Congo on a mission of peace. Fifty-eight Air Force officers and airmen—all experienced transport aircrew and technicians—left in August 1960 and have since manned U.N. transport aircraft in this strife-torn country. The I.A.F. has also been assisting Air Forces in Afro-Asian countries by training their personnel.

The security of our northern borders made increasing demands during the outgoing year and the Air Force met the challenge readily. The Prime Minister did a signal honour to the Service in July 1960 by flying with I.A.F. aircrew engaged in airlifting men and material. On his return he spoke in affectionate terms of "our Airmen and Jawans", describing them as "symbols of vigilance, efficiency, determination and calm courage".

The I.A.F. has closely associated itself with the aeronautical industry to make itself increasingly self-sufficient. It has all along cooperated with the activities of the Hindustan Aircraft, Ltd., the hub of India's aviation industry, especially with the design and development of trainer and transport aircraft, and, for some time now, with the supersonic and other high-speed combat aircraft. I.A.F. test pilots and selected aero-engineers have been attached to the H.A.L. in growing numbers. The network of defence laboratories set up for aeronautical research and technical development and production, as well as the Air Force School of Aviation Medicine in Bangalore, have more than justified their importance as an integral and productive part of this progressive Service.

The notable progress made by the AVRO-748 project, the Kanpur-I multi-purpose light aircraft, the Gas Turbine Research Centre and several other minor and major research and development projects initiated by I.A.F. technicians constituted some of the other milestones in the progress of the Air Force during the past year. The bold and unique step taken by a fighting Service by voluntarily coming within the orbit of the industrial revolution in the country has already begun to show results. The pace for achieving self-sufficiency in the hitherto unexplored fields of original designing and manufacture is being tangibly quickened. A new technical training school was established at Kanpur as part of the development programme of the air base there. The new institution is likely to meet the ever-growing requirements of the Service for highly skilled aero-technicians for manning maintenance services as well as its new ventures in the field of manufacture of aircraft and other equipment.

It is a far cry from a tiny force of just one flight with four outmoded Wapitis and a handful of pilots and airmen which the I.A.F. was in the 1930's to a jet force equipped with transonic aircraft that it is today. And though, at 28, not yet large enough commensurate with the air defence needs of the country, it seems structurally modern, compositionally balanced and operationally fighting and flying fit. Today, the I.A.F. is a source of inspiration and hope for all of us.

THE I.A.F. IN THE SPACE AGE

By Flying Officer K. S. TRIPATHI, M.A., I.A.F.

THE Indian Air Force has completed twenty-eight years of its existence. During this period it has steadily grown in stature and importance and has acquitted itself creditably. It has gone through the ordeal of the second World War, it has carried out the Kashmir operations in the post-partition days and it has also conducted mercy-missions during the days of natural calamities. In spite of its busy programme of defending the vast borders of India, it has willingly lent a helping hand to the nascent Afro-Asian countries in the formation and development of their own Air Forces. It has also accepted commitments abroad, whenever required, and thus helped the nation in the fulfilment of its international obligations. These multifarious commitments have, however, not prevented its growth from a tiny force into a formidable and powerful arm of national defence. Its metamorphosis from piston age to jet age is almost complete and its steady development through the post-independence years is not disheartening, even though our national energy has been directed mainly to five year plans for economic development of the country.

In the recent years, however, dramatic and spectacular technical achievements have brought revolutionary changes. Perhaps in no field have the changes been more far-reaching than in those of aeronautics and astronautics. The mounting tension and the mutual suspicion between the two power-blocks gave an impetus to what is now popularly known as the thermonuclear deterrent. The rivalry has now been carried to the frontiers of space. Hectic preparations are afoot, both in the USA and USSR to send the first manned vehicle to the moon.

PERIOD OF TRANSITION

The Air Forces of the leading powers of the World are therefore undergoing revolutionary changes. Projects for manufacture of bombers and fighters are being progressively abandoned. The missiles and the rockets have dislodged the conventional aircraft from their hitherto dominant position. In the United States, many big aircraft companies have been threatened with disastrous losses, for there is little demand for military aircraft. It is estimated that the earnings of the General Dynamics dropped by about 50 %, of the Boeing from 20 million dollars to 3,600,000 dollars, of United Aircraft, one of the biggest companies in the world, from 22 million dollars to just over a half of the amount. Similarly, the world famous, Douglas aircraft suffered staggering losses. Mr. H. M. Horner, chairman of the United Aircraft, gravely expressed this concern when he remarked, some time back, that the entire military business was in jeopardy. Indeed, the future of the conventional military aircraft, mainly the bomber and the fighter, is awfully insecure, and even those projects which are currently in hand, are nearing completion with grave misgivings. North America's ambitious project, the 2,000 m.p.h. B-70 Valkyries and the F-108 interceptors are the only new manned-weapon system development programmes under current production and even here their numbers have been drastically cut down. It is noteworthy that the United States produced 95,272 military aircraft in 1944. This huge figure fell to a mere 5,500 in 1957 and now in 1961, only a token number of aircraft would be manufactured.

Conversely the production of the missiles has been steadily speeded up. While in 1954 only 10 per cent of the budget was spent on missiles, in 1960 more than 50 per cent was spent on their production. Emphasis is now chiefly laid on building up aerospace power as distinct from air power. In order to augment the

entire aeronautical and astronautical capacity, the U.S. Government has established two space agencies, the National Aeronautic and Space Administration (NASA) under the civilian management, and the Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA) in the Department of Defence. Besides these, the three arms of the defence services have their own space projects. The army has three agencies, the Army Ballistic Missile Agency (ABMA), the Army Rocket and Guided Missile Agency, and the White Sands Missile Range. The progress of these agencies is coordinated and supervised by the Army Ordnance Missile Command. The U.S. Air Force has its own Ballistic Missile Division and the Air Research and Development Command. Similarly the U.S. Navy too has its own agencies devoted to the development of space technology.

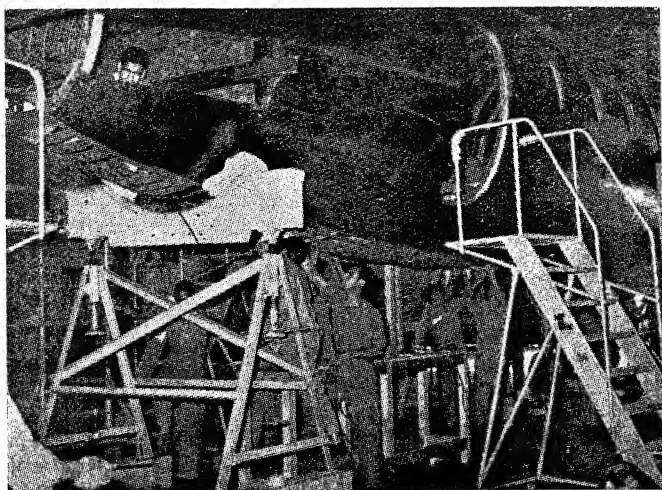
The progress made by the Soviet Russia in the field of space technology is as spectacular as it is stupendous. The Soviet Union was the first to send satellites around the earth, the first to strike the moon, the first to photograph the far side of the moon, the first to recover living beings from the space and also the first to launch rocket to Venus. It is authoritatively said by the knowledgeable sources in the U.S. that the Soviet Union would again have the distinction of being the first to put a human being in the space. It is believed that this amazing achievement will take place in all probability by the middle of 1961. The United States of America is not far behind the Russians in the space technology and probably by the end of 1961 the Americans may also be able to put a man in the Orbit.

AEROSPACE AGE

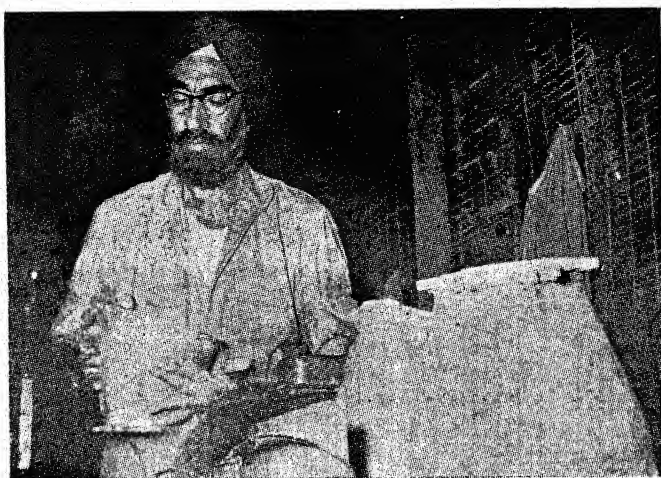
The transitory period from the air power age to aerospace age is progressively shrinking. In the absence of international agreement the present decade may witness the emergence of a number of military space vehicles ranging from reconnaissance and surveillance satellites to the so-called "Jump-down" bomb. Some of these devices have the prospect of becoming operational within a few years, while others are clearly in the earliest stage of research and development. Even in the event of international agreement to limit the use of space for peaceful purposes only, military satellites could be sent into orbit under the guise of "peaceful" satellites. Although the use of the satellites as bomb-carriers is at present a dubious proposition, probably it will not be long before the satellites could be developed to eject nuclear weapons at fixed targets. In view of the earth's revolution, it would be difficult to pin-point a target, for by the time a close-orbit satellite makes a revolution of the earth, a fixed point on the equator would have been displaced eastward of the earth's circumference due to the earth's own movement. Nevertheless the USSR has achieved success in recovering living being from the orbit at a fixed place. The United States of America has also recovered instrument capsules from orbit in the course of her Discoverer programme. This is only the first step towards dropping nuclear bombs at fixed targets from space vehicles. With the arrival of bomb-carrier satellites, the I.C.B.Ms. too will probably be made obsolete. However, the coming years will be very exciting. The aerospace weapons will revolutionise the whole concept of warfare.

I.A.F. IN MODERN TIMES

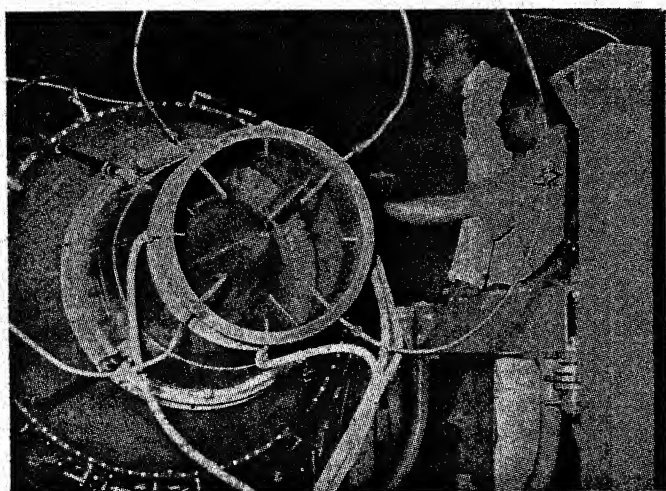
Although the growth of the I.A.F. from a few slow-moving wapities to an all-jet force is a commendable achievement, and although its position vis-a-vis the air forces of the neighbouring nations, is not uncomfortable, there is no place for complacency. The recent violations of our frontiers have only rudely reminded us the need for constant vigilance. As long as the nations of the world do not come to a sincere and honest agreement to ban war and disband the national armed forces, it would be costly folly to undermine the need for building up a powerful



Avro-748 aircraft under production.



Design by an IAF technician of time-saving rig employed in the manufacture of aero-engine parts.



The Defence Minister, Shri V. K. Krishna Menon, switched on the first prototype of the gas turbine jet engine, designed, developed and constructed by the IAF Gas Turbine Research Centre.



The UAR Air Chief presenting to an IAF flying instructor, the UAR Military Duty Medal in token of the UAR Air Force appreciation of the services rendered by IAF instructors.



Ghanian airmen under training as photographers.



Indonesian airmen trainees at the No. 2 Ground Training School at Tambaram

and modern force capable of not only defending the nation but deterring the enemy. The strength of a nation is a relative term and is to be determined by comparison with other nations. Though it unfortunately leads to armament race, yet it cannot be helped. The price of freedom has to be paid. The nation has to be kept ready to meet all emergencies.

The I.A.F. has an onerous responsibility of guarding the vast frontiers of the country. Though it is quite capable of meeting any aggression at the present moment, it must keep itself abreast of modern technological advancement in the field of astronautics. There are many problems which confront this young service. The following are but a few, which deserve consideration.

- (a) Finance
- (b) Research and Development Laboratories,
- (c) Space programme.

FINANCE

In order to transform the Indian Air Force into Indian Aerospace force, fabulous sums of money would be required. At present the country is engaged in the overriding task of feeding its people, stepping up its agricultural output, and improving the living standard of its people. It is hoped that by the end of the third five year plan the nation would have achieved many of its economic targets, though struggle against poverty, illiteracy and misery will be a persistent task for a long time to come.

However, the security of the nation must be given topmost priority. It is therefore suggested that adequate provision be made in the fourth five year plan to reorientate the defence services of India, particularly the Indian Air Force. It would be, however, too late to wait for the completion of the third five year plan. A beginning should, therefore, be made immediately and the speed of the progress stepped up during the fourth five year plan. Economically the country would be more stable by the end of the third plan period and it would be able to conserve its currency for its own use. For the time being a bigger allocation should be made to the defence budget for the purpose of commencing the space programme without delay.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

Scientific research is of paramount importance for the growth of national defence. The modern defence equipment and the scientific research are closely-guarded secrets of the advanced countries. In times of emergency therefore we cannot depend on foreign countries for the procurement of our defence requirements. Self-sufficiency in defence equipment and ordnance is the pre-requisite of national security. It is a happy augury that the Ministry of Defence has seriously taken up the problem of self-sufficiency in defence production. Recently a series of defence Science laboratories have also been opened at various places, for the purpose of conducting research on defence matters. It is just a modest beginning.

Institutes devoted to the study of space problem should be opened and equipped properly. It is essential to avoid duplication and waste. In this connection it is pertinent to note the observations of Vice Admiral Hyman Rickover of the United States Navy. The Vice Admiral who is known as the outspoken "father" of the nuclear submarine declared recently that administrative red tape was hamstringing U.S. efforts to develop new space-age weapons. In a dinner speech, he said that the Soviet Union was advancing faster in military technology

than the USA. The cause, he explained, was over-administration and bureaucracy —“Thousands of hours are lost dealing with the avalanche of memoranda descending from higher administrative level.”

SPACE PROGRAMME

The research laboratories and institutes should prepare a combined blue print for space. Problems of such satellites as reconnaissance and surveillance, navigation, communication, meteorology, bomb-carriers, space-ships etc., should be carefully studied, and task distributed to the various laboratories, and project institutes. The progress of each laboratory should be periodically reviewed and reports published. These reports should be circulated to the other laboratories of the country, so that duplication of effort can be avoided. The working of these laboratories should progress in absolute coordination and close liaison. In the beginning, however, we will have to take help of foreign astronautic scientists and to send our own scientists abroad for study. It is essential to follow closely latest developments in advanced nations. But due to deep secrecy which shrouds such projects, it may not be possible to get correct information. The Indian scientists should therefore concentrate on achieving self-reliance, independence and originality.

The need for reorientation of our defence programme cannot be over emphasised. An outmoded defence service is a potential danger to the nation. It would also be a folly to rely on the good-will of the neighbours. The best way to consolidate what we shall achieve from our economic plans, is to guarantee the security of India and to ensure an era of confident peace by forging our Air Force into a dynamic and powerful aerospace force.

THE LAND COMMUNICATIONS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

By Major EDGAR O'BALLANCE

NO military study of Red China would be complete without an examination of her land communications. Huge manpower figures are thrust in one's face, but boasts that the population exceeds 650 million, the standing army 5 million and the Militia 250 million, are not all that impressive unless adequate land communications are available to enable the best use to be made of them. A Chinese dragon with no legs at all is not so awe inspiring as one with the legs and agility of a centipede. If Red China is not able to manoeuvre her large number of divisions easily and flexibly, and supply them wherever they may be, they may become as much of a handicap as an asset.

As sustained ability to manoeuvre depends primarily upon good land communications, let us examine the terrain from a military point of view to see what sort of cock-pit Red China might turn out to be. First of all it should be realised that the territory controlled by the Red Chinese Government encompasses almost 4 million square miles, and this fact should always be borne in mind. This vast land mass contains numerous different types of country, ranging from mountain to swamp, and from forest to desert, and possesses a full measure of military obstacles. For this examination, Red China can be conveniently divided into the "Outer Provinces" and the "18 Provinces".

THE OUTER PROVINCES

The Outer Provinces, encircling China proper, have been the bulwark of defence of the old Chinese Imperial Empire for centuries, as their terrain, plus the additional factor of tremendous distance, gave security to the "Middle Kingdom".

To the north-east is Manchuria, consisting still of about two-thirds forest, as well as containing patches of swamp, but the remainder presents no serious difficulty to a modern mechanised army. Manchuria can no longer be regarded as a natural bastion of defence, although it certainly lends itself to defensive tactics. Conversely, of course, owing to its immense size, it lends itself to infiltration tactics by small columns advancing on a wide front.

To the north of China is Inner Mongolia and Mongolia proper, which has wide open acres of grassland in the upper reaches, and although there are several mountain ranges before approaching them from the south, none are really impassable. Formerly, this endless expanse of grassland was a barrier to any army tied to a conventional baggage train, being dominated by Tartar hordes, mounted on sturdy ponies, which frequently raided down into China. The Great Wall was partially designed to make them keep their distance.

Nowadays, this open expanse is considered to be good tank country, and ideal for mechanised warfare. Today, far from being a barrier, this approach from the north is Red China's open flank, perhaps the most vulnerable one of all.

To the north-west lies the Gobi Desert, large, harsh and barren, impassable in the old days to invading armies because of lack of water. Today, the value of this obstacle has lessened, as although the ground is rugged in parts, generally the going is firm and suitable for tracked, or even wheeled, vehicles. In fact, a fast

mobile army, with a good supply service may be able to use this terrain to the disadvantage of Red China.

To the west of China there is a thick mountainous barrier, a jagged plateau composed of a jumble of some of the highest mountains in the world, remote, barren and split by deep chasms, through which flow fast, dangerous streams. This is a solid obstacle, snow-bound for part of the year, which takes in large parts of Chinghai and Tibet. It is especially a barrier to mass troop movement, as of a necessity bodies of men would have to be funnelled along certain route and through certain passes, where they could easily be detected from the air as they are largely open and above the "tree line". These regions need specially trained mountain troops to operate in them successfully.

To the south lies mountainous Yunnan, touching both Burma and Indo-China, but it forms an obstacle of a slightly different character in that being in a warmer climate, the mountain slopes are frequently wooded and the valleys sometimes choked with jungle. Unlike the mountains of Tibet those of Yunnan lend themselves to penetration tactics, but they are restrictive, as they would slow down the rate of troop movement to the pace of the infantryman on foot. Yunnan is predominantly infantry country.

The possibilities of a sea-borne invasion will not be considered in this article.

The deduction must be that the old natural frontier barriers of China remain, but that their military value has changed in some instances, some are as formidable as ever in this, the mid-20th Century, whilst aircraft and mechanisation have reduced the value of others or turned them into disadvantages.

The most vulnerable sector, and obvious ideal approach for any mechanised invader is through Mongolia in the north, which is wide open, as is also Manchuria, to the north-east, although not to the same degree. The south is vulnerable to jungle infiltration tactics, which have been developed during World War II, and since in South-East Asia. The Gobi Desert has lost much of its defensive value, which was lack of water and distance, and only the western mountain wall of Tibet and Chinghai seems as secure now as it was a hundred years ago.

THE "18 PROVINCES"

Having considered the outer perimeter, now we come to China proper, the "18 Provinces," or the "Middle Kingdom," which for our present purpose can be divided into four separate geographical regions, the South, the Yangtse Valley Central and North China. Excluding such communications as exist, such as railways, roads and waterways, which will be separately considered in a moment, it is essential to examine the terrain as to the possibility of large scale movement off the roads.

South China, consisting of the provinces of Hainan, Kiangsi, Kwantung and parts of Fukien, is almost sub-tropical. It encloses a large expanse of mountains, but in the valleys there is intense agriculture, which from a military point of view makes it difficult country, owing to the myriad 'terraced' plots. Away from the roads it is hardly passable to tracked vehicles, and practically impassable everywhere to wheeled MT.

The Yangtse Valley, especially the eastern part, is densely populated and heavily cultivated, being often thought of as the 'heart of China'. As it is criss-crossed with canals movement away from the roads by MT is impossible, but there is some scope for amphibious vehicles, such as Alligators and Weasels. The river

itself is an important defensive obstacle, which cuts the valley in two. A large bridge has been opened at Hankow, another at Chungking, and others are being constructed, but even when they are complete, they will be narrow bottle-necks and movement across the river will still mainly be by boat.

Central China can be said to be the region of the watershed between the Yangtse and the Yellow Rivers, and it is reminiscent of many parts of Central Europe, having a sprinkling of mountains, not so high or difficult, and of forests, not too thick or impassable, interspersed with patches of agriculture and stretches of undulating downland: ideal country for so-called 'conventional' warfare.

North China can be described as the area north of the Yellow River reaching to the Great Wall, where apart from a few ranges of mountains and hills, practically everywhere is open savannah. The ground is firm and tracked vehicles can range far and wide, as can MT vehicles in most parts. It is in North China that armoured warfare could develop.

It would seem that in whatever part of Red China active operations were to take place, the commander would have to specially construct his force, as a general purpose division, for example, would be of limited value in many places.

RAILWAYS

Railways are still the main arteries of war as they are the only really sound, practical and economical method of distributing bulk supplies and heavy loads over long distances for a lengthy period. Compared with many countries, China is badly off for railways and has an extremely low mileage for her vast size, (nearly 4 million square miles, remember). In 1950, there were only about 18,750 miles of track, much of which was single line, and although an expansion programme has been in operation since, this mileage has not been increased very much. Red China has little more than 20,000 miles of strategic railway. Some of the old lines have been abandoned it is true, but only about 4—5,000 miles have been built since 1949, mainly the emphasis has been on making the existing lines into double track ones.

Most of the existing railways are in the north and the eastern Yangtse Valley. A bare network was developed in Manchuria, mainly, but not completely, by the Japanese and the Russians, which connects with the Russian Trans-Siberian Railway, the Manchurian ports and the Chinese rail network.

In China proper, strategically, there is only one through North-South line traversing the whole country, and two East-West ones. Apart from these, the railways of China can be described as sketchy, isolated patchworks with little cohesion, the railway complexes having sprung up around industrial and other centres, such as Harbin, Wuhan, Shanghai and Canton.

The strategic North-South line runs from Peking, via Hankow, where it crosses the Yangtse River, and thence southwards to Canton. Other lines, following, or running parallel with, the coast are disjointed and not continuous. The Yellow and the Yangtse Rivers are serious obstacles to constructing more independent parallel North-South lines, which would be desirable from a strategic point of view. At the end of 1957, the large bridge was opened at Hankow, where the river is over 4,000 feet wide. It is of Russian design and takes six lanes of road traffic and two railway lines. This made it possible for the first time to go from Peking to Canton without having to cross the river by ferry. It was the first of its kind and is a bottle-neck, but 12 other bridges of this nature are in the process of construction over these two rivers, so in a few years time, when they are completed, alternative North-South strategic lines may be laid. One over the Yangtse at Chungking has

been finished recently, and the railway from Paochi, in the north, is being continued on southwards from the former city.

The chief East-West line runs along the watershed between the Yangtse and Yellow Rivers, from the coast inland to Changan. This is being extended across Sinkiang where it will connect up with the Russian Tur-Sib Railway, at Aktogai, in Russian Turkistan, just near Alma Ata. Priority has been given to this and it is now at the time of writing, fast approaching the Russian border.

Another East-West strategic line was planned to go from Canton to Chung-king, and then on to Lasha, in Tibet. This was scheduled originally to have been completed by 1960, but has hardly progressed at all. The innumerable difficulties of building railways in the far Western Provinces must have been brought home rather forcibly to the optimistic planners, and it seems that the western half of this project at least has been shelved from the time being in favour of road construction.

In the north, the Peking-Kalgan railway has been extended into Inner Mongolia to connect up, via Ulan Bator, with the Russian Trans-Siberian Railway.

In the south, the old Yunnan-Haiphong railway into Indo-China, disused since 1942, has been repaired and is now operating.

In widely separated parts of China many miles of narrow gauge railway have been laid for local use and to open up new areas, mines and other projects, especially in the Western Provinces. A start has been made with electrification of certain sections of railway, but as yet, for economic reasons alone, it cannot be thought of as being an important factor in a military appreciation.

The deduction must be that whilst the number of miles of railway may double in the next 5 years or so, it is still incredibly small for a country of her size. With only limited industrial potential and with many competing claims for her output, it cannot be said that an over high priority is being given to constructing a country-wide strategic railway system capable of sustaining large bodies of troops on active operations in any part of Red China. Such labour and material as is made available is being devoted, first to extending the strategic line through Sinkiang, secondly to linking up the various internal networks and thirdly to making the whole length into double track. Railway construction in the mountainous West seems to have come to a halt, where the priority has been given to road construction.

ROADS

Although there have been periodic attempts in the past to construct an imperial strategic road system in China, seldom has much progress been made. China has no heritage such as the Romans left in Europe in this respect, and today she is badly off for good all-weather roads. Priority is given mainly to the railways in this sphere and not the roads, owing to the shortage of vehicles and fuel. In 1950, she has about 125,000 miles of roads, but then not all were metalled, since when the mileage has increased to about 156,000 miles.

In Southern China and the Yangtse Valley the intricate canal system is a drawback and has arrested the natural, spontaneous development of a road system.

In Central China there are many roads, but not all are passable in the winter to motor vehicles. Much movement is by footpath.

In the north, and in Manchuria, where the ground is firm there are ample 'cart tracks', all of which are negotiable with tracked vehicles, and many by wheeled vehicles all the year round.

In the Western Provinces roads are conspicuous by their absence, and many parts of Kansu, Chinghai and Szechwan can still only be reached on foot. It is here that some priority is being given to the necessity of building strategic roads. Previously, almost inaccessible, Tibet now has two good motor roads from China to Lasha, and inside Tibet other roads have been constructed or improved for strategical purposes right to the Indian frontier. Reports filter through of other strategical motor roads being pushed northwards through Tibet to link up with the two that are being built through Sinkiang to reach both the frontiers of Russia and Afghanistan.

It is clear that Red China realises the paramount need to have network of roads stretching out to her far frontiers. Also, without them she cannot have full control over her border "peoples," who are non-Chinese (Han) stock. There have been frequent rumours of tribal revolts and difficulties in Tibet, Szechwan and Changhai.

Difficulties of road construction in the Western Provinces are many and are heightened as Red China is short of modern road building equipment. Practically everything has to be done by hand, which makes progress slower than might be expected if a Western Power was doing the job.

In Central China, the builders are faced with the problem of soft surfaces, and of the necessity of laying a stone foundation if the roads are not to be washed away every year. This is all done laboriously and manually, and often indifferent roadways are the inevitable result. In South China bridging the numerous waterways is as big a drawback as the soft surface.

The deduction must be that, except in the north where the ground is hard, the road system is inadequate, and is hardly extensive or good enough to cater for peacetime uses. Any extra strain such as would be imposed by war conditions involving large scale troop movement and the transport of stores, would stretch them to breaking point. It is doubtful whether the present road system alone would be adequate to keep, for example, a large Chinese force fighting against a well equipped, modern enemy in Tibet or Indo-China, properly supplied.

WATERWAYS

Generally waterways come low down, if they appear at all, in the communication picture of a country, but in parts of China they must rate very highly. The navigable waterways are confined to Southern China as the Yellow River is not navigable, and has not produced off-shoot canal systems, whilst in the West the fast, dangerous mountain streams are out of the question for transport.

For centuries, the Yangtse has been a main highway of China, and from it branch off numerous systems of canals, which it feeds with water. This river is navigable for fairly large steamers for about 1,800 miles from its mouth. In this part of China, most movement is by water, and roads and railways take a poor second and third place.

One other waterway could be mentioned and that is the Grand Canal, an ancient, monumental work, connecting Peking with the Yangtse. During the Civil Wars it became silted up and fell into disrepair, but recently it has been cleaned out and repaired, and is now in use. The Grand Canal is about 700 miles in length and is capable of carrying a large tonnage of goods.

By the end of 1958, it was estimated that about 90,000 miles of waterways were in regular use for transport purposes.

NATIVE FORMS OF TRANSPORT

Indigenous forms of Chinese transport have been in use for years, and in the north goods are mainly carried by horse and cart, or on mules; in Central China, they are carried in wheel-barrows, or handcarts, or on a carrying pole; in Southern China, they are carried by Sampan, barge or boat, whilst in the West, they are carried on the human back.

Outside the big cities and away from the roads and railways, the average Chinese still transports his goods and food by one of these ancient methods. Perhaps 80%, or even more, of all the goods transported in Red China, it is not possible to obtain accurate figures, are moved by one of these methods. The Red Chinese Government, although striving hard to speed up and modernise movement, have not yet been able to alter this: manpower is the most common commodity in China.

In 1957, the Government called for more development of the old, traditional methods of transport, especially the use of animals, animal drawn carts, hand-carts and boats of all kinds.

SUMMARY

The Red Chinese army is static in that its units do not change round on a rota system, and even so, over 1½ million soldiers are engaged in feeding and supplying it. Having regard to the existing land communications, this cannot be wondered at. Formations moving from station to station on conventional peacetime reliefs would throw an additional strain on the land communications that the Communists are anxious to avoid. Moreover, MT is scarce, and fuel scarcer still.

In times of famine or flood thousands, perhaps millions, of Chinese have died because of the lack of adequate land communications to transport either supplies or people. In war the same problem would invariably arise again. Red China would find the movement of complete corps of troops from one sector to another, especially over distance and at short notice to be very exacting, if not impossible at times. The much boasted mobility of the Chinese divisions is in fact a very limited, local one, and is restricted to how far and how fast a soldier can march on his feet. Assuming that he could live on the land, and that food was waiting for him at every halt, the immensity of the problem of moving even half-a-dozen army corps from, say, opposite Formosa to either Tibet or Indo-China, can be realised.

Today, the Chinese is tied to his Commune or city and cannot freely travel about his country: perhaps this restriction is deliberate for most reasons than one.

In any serious armed struggle in China against a well armed invader, Red China is badly handicapped by lack of land communications, and would have to carefully nurse every single bullet, shell and gallon of fuel: she would in fact have to fight on a 'shoe string'. Should protracted armoured warfare develop in the north against a well equipped enemy, the Red Chinese forces may become sterile owing to lack of supplies as her lines-of-communication would not be able to push fuel, shells, spares and replacements forward in sufficient quantity to keep the 'teeth and claws' sharp.

One must finally deduce that until her land communications have developed considerably, which they will, of course, do, but slowly, Red China has extremely limited offensive power against a modern enemy, and also her much vaunted defensive ability would in the majority of instances be limited to guerilla and partisan warfare and little more.

Red China's inherent advantage of fighting on interior lines is in effect to a large extent nullified because of their rickety structure.

SCIENCE AND MODERN WAR

By Maj. Gen. B. D. KAPUR

IT is very important to realise fully the fundamental thesis that the development of all the conditions which determine the character of contemporary warfare is now proceeding incomparably more swiftly than ever before. Hence, the tempo of the development of military science must today be also quite different, and this is a factor which must be taken into account in the training of troops and, particularly, in the training of officers. One must remember that the knowledge acquired in military schools and even in senior military academies quickly becomes obsolete. Military men must, therefore, study the military theoretical sciences daily and intensively in order to keep the development of military affairs abreast of the contemporary pace.*

The importance of science in modern warfare is well-known but the question of military officers maintaining their knowledge upto date by an intensive study of theoretical sciences, has not been emphasised in any of the Western Armies. General Pokrovsky, has emphasised in the above book, that unless officers understand the working of weapons, they will never be able to use them and to understand them, they must have a good ground of basic sciences. In U.S.S.R. with the academics having been developed to a 7-year course in the post-school period, he reckons that the forces would be able to draw up on an intelligent class of manpower in the country.

The impressions brought by our Mission from China were no different. According to the leader of the Mission, every General he spoke to seemed to know considerable technical details of weapons, aircraft and equipment. Their knowledge seemed astounding for such senior ranking officers.

When on a visit to Canada in 1958, the writer found that in the Canadian Cadets' Academy, 70 per cent of the cadets graduated in one of the engineering subjects, that is, mechanical, electrical or civil engineering. Of the others, most of them took a science degree.

This emphasis on science education is a healthy trend in the foreign countries in view of the importance science has in the development of modern weapons. An attempt is made in this article to justify the extent to which this emphasis is essential and how we may bring about this consciousness among our officers.

GROWTH OF SCIENCE AND EVOLUTION OF WEAPONS

Whilst science has provided civilisation the comforts and luxuries of life, in defence matters science has affected and will continue to affect the very concept of warfare. The introduction of gun powder caused a revolution in warfare technique as compared to the bows and arrows. Gun powder swayed the fortunes of battles for 500 years. Until the 18th century scientists were tabooed and almost regarded as magicians. In the United Kingdom they entered the fighting services in 1795, when under the pressure of the East India Company, a hydrographic office was opened. The industrial revolution in the 19th century brought about tremendous technical progress. The Army, therefore, also recognised the importance of scientific education. Michael Faraday taught at the Royal Military Academy in

* "Science and Technology in Contemporary Warfare" by Major General G. I. Pokrovsky.

1829-53. He was succeeded by Abel who was designated as the "Scientific Adviser to War Office"—a designation which has a modern ring to it.

The scientific discoveries have led to the design and development of new weapons, which in turn, have affected the very concept of warfare. Clauseveitz wrote over 100 years ago: "Fighting has determined everything appertaining to arms and equipment. These in turn modify the mode of fighting. There is, therefore, the reciprocity of action between the two."

Evolution of arms and equipment has been very much the responsibility of scientific research. In 1916, the tank with its weapon mobility and armour protection from fire, changed the complete conception of static warfare. Instead of heavy first line defence as before, Germany had its strong reserves behind and used the area between the first line and second line defences as killing ground. World War II brought mechanisation and the development of the aircraft and the tank, which made fighting more fluid and more mobile in character. Bomber aircraft was used tactically as long range artillery and strategically to destroy the industry and the morale of the civilian population. To counter this, heavy anti-aircraft defences were developed with improved radar and fire control systems. Thus each weapon was designed to meet certain operational requirements arising from the doctrine of warfare obtaining at that time. A change in tactics may be the cause of a new weapon as much as a new scientific development may revolutionise the previous concept of warfare.

THE CHANGING CONCEPT OF FUTURE WARFARE

With the progress science and technology is making in designing new offensive weapons, to any military student it is quite clear that a future war would be different from past wars. How and in what manner it would be a different war, is a question racking the brains of modern scientists and soldiers. Two statements in this regard by military specialists are significant.

In 1956, Field Marshal Montgomery said in a speech: "We must look the new conception of war straight in the face. This conception must be carefully studied. This can mean that it is necessary to reorganise the armed forces."

Marshal Zukov stated in a speech in 1956: "In the development of the Soviet armed forces, we proceed from the fact that the weapons and forms of future warfare will be distinguished in many ways from all recent wars. Future war, if they (the imperialist) unleash it, will be characterised by a massive employment of air forces, of various rocket weapons, and of such various means of mass destruction as atomic, thermonuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons. However, we proceed from the fact that the newest weapons, including also weapons of mass destruction, do not lessen the decisive significance of ground armies, of the fleet and of aviation."

Thus the changing concepts of operations is in itself a scientific study. The study involves firstly the evaluation of the weapon systems, and secondly the tactical and organisational studies to examine the optimum effect of the weapon systems at minimum costs.

In the U.S.A. since 1948 a weapons system Evaluation Group has been formed which serves the joint chiefs of staff. This unit is intended to provide the defence establishment with a "rigorous, unprejudiced and independent analysis and evaluations of present and future weapons under probable future combat conditions."

The staff is composed of service officers, scientists and technicians. The group is headed by a Lieut-General, a Major General, a Rear-Admiral and an Air-Vice-Marshal. The group works within four general areas:—

- (a) the soldier with his weapon and equipment and clothing with a view to improving efficiency.
- (b) requirements for new weapons and equipment.
- (c) military training, its contents and methods, and
- (d) problems of supply, maintenance and economies etc.

Weapons evaluation by soldiers and scientists has become a vital task if best utilisation of limited funds is to be achieved. With the need to modernise equipment and purchase complex weapon systems such as the anti-aircraft systems, the need for such evaluation becomes more emphasised. Even the evaluation of a simple weapon such as a self-loading rifle is necessary, as the financial effect of its introduction is very large. Thus if crores of rupees are to be committed, it is better to become wise about the utility value of a weapon system based on the conditions obtaining in India, before such commitments are accepted. And this approach would not be acceptable until the average Service officer begins to assimilate the basic ingredients of scientific education.

Take the second area of scientific study, that is, tactical and organisational studies. It is to be expected that the introduction of a new weapon should lead to certain changes in the organisation. With the introduction of five self-loading rifles in the Chinese section of infantry, the number of personnel has been reduced by two. Fire power and fire capacity must be related to logistical support and the tactical employment of troops. With the introduction of nuclear weapons in the field armies and the need for high mobility and flexibility of deployment, the organisations of U.K., and U.S.A. armies have been put through major changes. If, therefore, most effective use of weapons systems is to be made, it is necessary that tactics and organisations should conform to the requirements of new weapons.

In the U.S.A., a combat Development Experimental Centre has been established in California. 3,000 troops and 250 square miles of land, have been made available to this combined group of soldiers and scientists. Its main role is to evaluate the trend of tactics in the light of development of weapons in the next five years. Other problems relate to the effectiveness of army organisations and procedures in controlled field experiments.

I am not suggesting that we establish such organisations. All I wish to emphasise is that scientific approach to modern warfare can only come through scientific studies. When the faith of service officers in science is lacking, the scientific approach has no meaning; *ad hoc* decisions based on some other armies' innovations, becomes the criterion for accepting new weapon systems. The problem before us is: how to bridge this gap in our military educational system.

STUDY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Whilst the technological development of the nation determines the industrial potential and hence the defence capability of the country, the actual appreciation of the need to develop this potential and the understanding to make use of it for defence purposes, can only come through a consciousness and detailed study of military sciences. Further, to make an evaluation of the future concepts of warfare based on probable developments of weapon a thorough understanding of the weapon systems is necessary.

Writing on the future concepts of warfare, General Pokrovsky says: "Thus today the importance of scientific foresight in military science has achieved new significance. This fact requires that military men intensify these efforts in studying in detail all possible variants in the conduct of military operations. In this connection, it is necessary to reject categorically all stereotypes, which are often created on the basis of the experience of past wars, and to supplement and develop this experience by all means possible, with ideas merging from concrete historical conditions, from the contemporary state of weapons and warfare, ***and from perspectives on the future development of military affairs.**"

To understand modern weapon systems, let us now examine the extent to which it is necessary to have a knowledge of the basic and technological sciences.

Taking mathematics first, it is fundamental to the understanding of all artillery problems. Calculation of artillery fire, theory of probability to study the effect of artillery fire on various targets, ballistics and navigation are some of the subjects mathematics helps. Today ordinary means of computations have been replaced by electronic gadgets. Some of these computers form an integrated part of the fire control system. Computers are used freely in working out calculations for firing tables, in solving aerodynamic problems, in radar etc. Thus even to understand the basic principles of a weapon system, knowledge of mathematics is essential.

Physics has come into full prominence in military subjects. Nuclear science is the study of matter and the energy that can be created by matter. Physics has extensive ramifications. Solid-physics covers a new field of semi-conductor devices which includes **transistors** and two-element combination for heating or cooling systems. Applied Physics has revolutionised the electronic apparatus used for a wide variety of purposes in the Army.

Electronics can only be understood with some knowledge of the basic laws of physics. Electronics has a wide variety of uses: communication; radars for early warning, weather detection, navigation, target detection, target follow up, various fire control systems, systems for control of aircraft; proximity fuzes; secrecy systems; automatic control systems.

Chemistry is another wide subject connected with military affairs. Development of high explosives, defence against corrosion and humidity problems, preservation of stores and equipment of a large variety in the Army due to biological and bacteriological effects, development of various kinds of fuels and lubricants for aviation, long range rockets, tanks and other vehicles etc., may be mentioned as some examples of the uses of chemistry. In fact the whole variety of general stores are covered by this one subject.

It is not my intention to list a host of examples but merely to point out that knowledge of basic sciences would help a long way in understanding the modern complex weapon systems and equipment.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The extent of importance to be given to science subjects in the curriculum of the cadets and officers training therefore, needs consideration. With the present tempo in the scientific research and technological fields, there can be no doubt that

* Printed in bold are mine

every cadet should graduate in science before he carries out the professional training. Thus, it would be a good plan to aim at every cadet graduating in science from the National Defence Academy. If necessary, the age limit of entry may be raised. Similarly, the Indian Military Academy, direct entry cadets should be given the necessary scientific bias in their training. This may necessitate a slight extension in the present course.

Whilst basic sciences can be included as subjects in the curriculum of cadets' training, the question of introducing the study of scientific subjects and of weapons technology in the Officer Schools of Instruction, also requires examination. This would enable officers not only to understand better current equipments but also give them an indication of the trends in development which could effect tactics and organisations of units. It is, therefore, suggested that in all schools the syllabus should include a minimum of 100 hours in scientific subjects. Further, to encourage scientific thinking, station lectures should include a series of scientific lectures giving an insight into the scientific trends of future weapons.

To create interest of senior officers in scientific subjects, an annual seminar on general themes such as "An Assessment of Industrial Potential for Defence", is suggested. Similar seminars are a regular feature in the USA, where the officers taking part in the discussions are General Officers Commanding Armies and other senior officers concerned with the research, development and production efforts. This would not only bring our senior Army officers into intimate contact with the progress of military technology, but would also enable them to make a more realistic appreciation of strategic plans.

The strength of a nation lies in its technical potential and this applies all the more to an independent nation like ours not allied to any bloc. Therefore, scientific or technical intelligence, both in regard to the technological strength of the country and of the potential enemy, is a factor most vital to the defence of the country. If we do not make a proper appreciation of this single factor, the initiative for launching an attack on our country would always lie with the unfriendly countries.

It seems strange that we have a Scientific Advisory Committee to the Cabinet but we have none to advise the Chiefs of Staff. This shortcoming in our defence structure needs immediate examination. The above matter although, outside the scope of this article, is mentioned because it is felt that there is a lack of realisation of the need for scientific advice.

To make our country strong at least in years to come, it would be wise to give attention to some of the points raised in this paper. We need not copy what others do, but surely we should make a study of the material put forward by those who have applied their minds to such problems, and derive the necessary lessons from that study. Even the mere acceptance in principle of the need to emphasise science as a subject in the curriculum of the future officers, would be a long leap forward in building a strong future Army.

THE STRATEGIC WEAPONS OF MILITANT MINDS*

By Dr. W. T. V. ADISESHIAH, M.A., Ph.D.

THERE is the old story of a woman who stole a chicken from her neighbour's farm yard, killed it, and plucked the feathers in her own garden. Having unfeathered the stolen chicken, she felt a pang of conscience and decided to restore the stolen property to its lawful owner, but alas, neither could she bring the chicken to life nor could she restore the feathers to the chicken. The wind had blown away the feathers while she was yet pondering over her misdeed. Much the same hold true of idle gossip which sows seeds of hostility and mistrust in the minds of others. It is not easy to retract. Hence, the importance of psychological warfare, its far reaching effects on widely scattered social groups, and more particularly the several media of mass communication by the use of which it could be efficiently prosecuted, are matters of far reaching practical significance. Today, it is not the thunder-blast of exploding bombs nor the boom of cannon fire which disquiets the minds of people. What does indeed make the modern man anxious and distracted arises out of the subtle idea concealed in the words of sweet music, or the pungent insinuation carried in a cartoon, a feature article in a fun magazine, or a lively speech made by the political demagogue.

The basic motivation of all human conflict stems from thoughts and questionings in the human mind. What people see happen day to day, what they hear what they think, what they feel, the way their minds react to the things which are told to them, the opinions which float around large masses of people, and the many twists and turns which occur as information passes from one ear to another—all these build up within men's minds a sense of striving, an irresistible urge, a powerful impulse which kindles passions, infuriates people who are otherwise calm and contended, sowing seeds of disruption, reinforcing prejudices, sometimes even leading to mass hysteria. More devastating than the bomb, the rocket or the atomic missile is the weapon which kindles in the human mind a militant attitude, an aggressive undertone, sowing seeds of war. Of no other modern technique, other than the technique of psychological warfare, would it befitting to say that you sow the wind merely in order to reap the whirlwind.

Like new wine, psychological warfare may be ineffective or it may be effective. It may fall flat and fail to serve the purpose it is calculated to serve. Sometimes it might even have the opposite effect. On the other hand, like potent wine, it might intoxicate, it might inebriate the consumer and set his mind reeling with all sorts of fantastic ideas and misgivings. Naturally therefore it is pertinent to enquire how well a plan for psychological warfare could be made effective; to understand from a scientific point of view the conditions on which its success depends. When all is said and done, the fact remains that psychological warfare is essentially a matter of technique. It stands or falls, depending on the way it is waged. We who live in the atomic age are fortunate in having before us the lessons of the two World Wars which the present generation of mankind have witnessed. Memories are still fresh of the propaganda by which Hitler and Goebbels tried to boost their much vaunted struggle for the redress of what they regarded as "an injustice". The basic notion underlying that line of propaganda was an extension of the view of

*Review article on "The Weapon on The Wall" by Murray Dyer Baltimore, John's Hopkins Press, 1959.

Nietzsche, that the common man belongs to the herd—that his interests and aspirations seldom raise him above the level of the slave. He would naturally succumb to any influence towering high above his slavish mind. From this, it was not difficult for Hitler to jump to the idea that the 'big lie' works; and words effectively, provided it is told well and told over and over again. This presupposition was put to the test during World War II. It was bound to fail. Naturally then, we who live in the atomic age have to re-think the basic presuppositions underlying psychological warfare, and formulate the best approach to this devastating modern weapon, in unmistakable terms.

POLITICAL COMMUNICATION AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

It is becoming more and more evident today that psychological warfare is an important element in the weapon systems of states and has therefore to be employed on a far wider scale than it has been the practice in the past. Further, it would be more appropriate to regard political communication as an instrument of state rather than psychological warfare or information or propaganda or political warfare. As Murray Dyer suggests "If political communication is allowed to stand as a term for all the activities carried on in the field, then psychological warfare is one branch, conducted against an enemy and against an enemy only. Information is another branch. The main element of the entire range of the instrument is propaganda, but, as it will be developed, propaganda restrained by definite premises that do not permit the unfavourable associations currently attributed to that word". Political communication undertaken by a democratic state will of necessity have to raise certain important premises which may be considered in this connection.

First, the importance of truth. Political communication has to be based on truth. It is rather difficult to specify exactly what is implied. Sir Robert Lockhart has observed that "in open propaganda, inaccuracy does not pay". Propaganda based on the principle that a free people continually must search for truth has a constructive purpose. The essence of the matter is that truth is an inescapable foundation for any long range programme of political communication. It eventually boils down to the dictum formulated by President Abraham Lincoln: "You can fool some of the people all of the time, and all of the people some of the time; but you cannot fool all of the people all of the time".

Effectiveness in political communication rests to no inconsiderable extent on the force of ideas. In any kind of propaganda, ideas play a very important part. If ideas are to sway and dominate the minds of men, it is inevitable that they should be capable of grasp even by untutored and ignorant persons. It is not enough therefore merely to contradict enemy propaganda by denying the claims which the enemy makes but what is more important than that, it is vitally necessary to infuse powerful ideas into the minds of people. This point has been put forcefully by Murray Dyer in the following words: "Demonstrably we are not generating the ideas that are needed to capture the minds of men. Yet it is ideas that are running like flame in dry grass across the world".

Political communication has to maintain a substantial harmony with the national policy. National policy self-evidently sets limits to propaganda, in as much as any kind of propaganda which cuts against national policy is doomed to failure. A campaign of political communication cannot therefore be planned adequately unless the policy and objectives have been clearly determined. In a democratic society, it is impossible to speak with political conviction unless one's aims are clear. It does not matter, as George Taylor argues, whether psychological warfare is conducted by men in uniform or out of uniform, so long as the basic ideas that the operators hold are the same.

There is also the factor of public opinion. Although it may be true that public opinion is liable to sweeping changes, and also that it does not crystallise without leadership, it is equally true that public opinion represents the spirit of the people; and that without the backing of public opinion, the propagandist's efforts cannot carry him very far. Commenting on the views of Adam Muller, Karl Manneheim says: "There is no substitute for the spirit of a people, and the strength and order arising therefrom, and it is not to be found even in the brightest minds or in the greatest geniuses". When one recalls the indomitable zeal with which the people of London stood up to the German "Blitz" during the early years of the War, one cannot but agree that both sides psychological warfare has much to do with the spirit of the peoples involved.

Action is essential to effective political communication. This matter has been understood by experts on the subject, who have not merely fired the hearts of men with words, but have also incited action by the sheer force of words. The propagandist is interested in the word as it explains, interprets, and prophecies action. The operative notion underlying political communication has been stated tritely by Murray Dyer in the following way: "The right acts combined with the right words possess tremendous leverage. Take the right action, but give the wrong reason, and there is trouble. The importance to propaganda of action is a cardinal premise, to depart from which is to invite a weakening of effort. The propaganda of the deed stands out in any study of the premises of political communication as a firm foundation underpinning any national programme".

Political communication is seldom, if ever, more than an auxiliary weapon. In some quarters its value has been underwritten because its effects are not clearly demonstrable. In fact, it is well nigh impossible to tell how far a particular change has been caused by political communication. This is so because of the considerable time lag between the origination of the propaganda stream, and the actual change resulting from its influence. The results are never immediate. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that it works.

From the very nature of the case, political communication is a highly specialised technique which calls not only for expert knowledge but also for a distinct awareness on the part of the operator of the climate in which he has to work. It is necessary to be fully aware of the target or the goal. Thus, the several failures which occurred during the last World War as well the lessons learnt from the campaigns in Korea have put us wise today regarding the techniques of psychological warfare. "Never again", as Murray Dyer insists, "should it be necessary, as it was in the world wars and the Korean conflict, to undertake psychological warfare without accepted premises, on which to plan, make decisions, and organize. Nevertheless we are still only on the threshold. It is not knowledge about psychological warfare only that we need. The concept of political communication requires an increase in our basic sociological knowledge, and this is an area as yet unorganized so that we do not even possess the knowledge enabling us to determine priorities of research".

Although it may be true that the direct outcome sought in any kind of propaganda effort is a change in the attitudes of large groups of people, it ought never to be forgotten that until action resulting from the changed attitude is manifest, the propagandist has no way of knowing whether he has succeeded or failed. Only when action squares with what was intended by the words is there sufficient reason to justify considering that meaning has been conveyed. This is so because what is eventually sought as a result of the propaganda effort is a radical change in the action patterns of people.

Another important factor contributing to the effectiveness of political communication is the adoption by the sender and the receiver, of the same action

perspective. In this connection it would be useful to recall Mannheim's distinction between horizontal and vertical mobility. Horizontal mobility shows that different people think differently. Vertical mobility on the other hand is the belief that one's own thought forms are shaken. Political communication might have a short or a long range objective. In the former case, some immediate result is secured by the propaganda. The long range objectives of political communication necessarily involve political themes. They work slowly, and are aimed at bringing about far reaching changes in beliefs, ideas and ideologies. As Robert S. Lynd has said: "Man's ideas, beliefs and loyalties, their non-material culture are frequently slower: to be changed than are their material needs".

POLITICAL COMMUNICATION IN PEACE AND WAR

It is now well recognized that political communication must be regarded as part of the overall strategy of a nation in its effort to survive the stresses and strains obtaining in the field of international relations. In fact, there are three other important factors which rank on the same footing as political communication in the national programme. Diplomacy, military strength and economic stability. No modern nation can afford to do without a diplomatic corps. The need for diplomatic missions which will watch the foreign interests of a country and will help in the maintenance of friendly relations between neighbouring countries has become an accepted principle of modern Governments. The same holds true also of military potential. Even countries which are committed to a policy of no war find it necessary to maintain armies, navies and fleets of military aircraft in order to be able to defend the territorial integrity of the country in the event of an emergency. Further, every country has its trade interests, since the economic stability of a country depends to no small extent on the way its trade in foreign countries is carried on. Political communication is yet another area covering the vital interests of a nation. Various media are used in order to spread abroad in the minds of other people the right impressions regarding a country. The organization and operation of all these forces must therefore necessarily be undertaken at the national level. It cannot be left to the efforts of small groups of people or of interested parties in the country but should rather stem from clearly formulated national policy and a national programme which implements the policy.

It will thus be seen that political communication has a scope which goes far beyond what is sought by psychological warfare as such. It has a place which is distinctive and highly significant in any pattern of national effort. The agencies which are responsible for political communication should therefore be regarded as the eyes, ears and the tongue of the nation. What others have to say about one's country, what others do to one's nationals have to be constantly watched, systematically studied and correctly interpreted by these agencies. This is of the utmost importance in the world today, since no country can afford to allow its interests to suffer at the hands of unscrupulous propagandists. Neither is it in the interest of people to sit back and watch the nationals of their country being subjected to humiliations, privations and denial of legitimate rights merely because there is no one to speak up for them. It becomes a point of inescapable necessity then not only that the interests of one's nationals in foreign countries are carefully watched but also that where necessary, public opinion regarding any matter touching the vital concerns of a country should be voiced in clear and no unmixed terms. A great deal is thus capable of being achieved by the several agencies for political communication even during peace time by highlighting certain important facts relating to progress and development in the country, or to cultural and social matters, or to such things as economic growth agricultural development, industrial progress and the like. All this may border on propaganda, but the main purpose underlying this is to keep people in foreign countries informed about one's

own country, thereby forestalling the possible effects of hostile propaganda on the minds of ignorant foreigners. In the modern world this has become a standing need, particularly because there is a vital relationship between political communication and the furtherance of trade interests. It is hardly necessary to state that even a little hostile propaganda can do a lot to frustrate the advancement of a country's trade interests.

Cold war develops when there is conflict between two countries or two groups of countries. From the very nature of the expression it will be seen that the techniques of cold war are non-violent in the sense that they do not inflict bodily pain or physical suffering on those against whom they are directed. There is nevertheless a certain type of calculated harm which cold war aims at producing on those against whom it waged. Long drawn out controversies, motivated by political interests and fed by popular resentments, aversions, animosities and strong dislikes, sometimes direct against individuals, sometimes against groups, are capable of fanning up in people's minds conditions which are very much like war except for the fact that no guns are fired, no bombs dropped. The organization of a country's power potential for the purpose of cold war has to be linked with the nation's total efforts. Expert opinion today is of the view that propaganda, whether it be in war or in peace must be so organised that it expresses the collective responsibility of a people towards those with whom they are pitched in opposition. Further, propaganda cannot be the exclusive concern of any one particular department of government but should of necessity be canalized in different ways. Being a continuous process, propaganda cannot be transferred from department to department, depending on the circumstances of war or peace.

Experience during World War II and the recent engagements which took place in Korea has brought home certain important lessons regarding political communication. One of the striking facts during wartime was the reluctance of the military to accept psychological warfare. A kind of resistance was encountered. This is the reason why the great bulk of propaganda effort and psychological warfare during the last war were retained in civilian hands. Military commanders were never very enthusiastic in cooperating with propaganda efforts initiated by civilian sources. They looked askance at what at first sight appeared to be a news operation. The importance of selecting, explaining and interpreting items of news was not always grasped by them. The dropping of leaflets, for instance, was considered even by responsible commanders such as Air Marshal Sir Arthur Harris as purposeless, since he thought that he was merely exposing his bomber crews to danger in order to drop bits of papers which nobody was going to read. One of the difficult and troublesome issues in the field of communication is the problem of security. It is not easy to decide what information to give out and when. There are times when more will be gained by giving knowledge rather than by withholding it. It still seems to be unrealised that security measures applied in the wrong way are capable of doing more harm than good. In spite of the experience during the last World War there still is the lingering feeling that psychological warfare operations do not always serve a useful purpose. Experience in Korea was unfortunately very similar to that of World War II. Intelligence was faulty. Organisation was imperfect. Security hampered the operations. The staff organisation of psychological warfare did not sufficiently exploit potentialities of the weapon and a great deal of the effort was in fact fruitless. In view of this, it seems evident that psychological warfare can make headway only when it is a powerful instrument of national policy.

EFFICIENCY IN POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

Political communication, as Murray Dyer insists is both an art and the science although it may be true that we today are barely on the threshold of scienti-

fic knowledge in this field. It may be realised that political communication goes beyond an interplay of ideas. The Communists, for instance, sold to the Koreans not Marxism as such, but land redistribution, better working conditions, feminine equality and universal employment.

There are four important aspects to be considered with regard to the efficiency of political communication. First, there is the question of the efficiency of one's own organisation and the manner in which it operates with regard to the specific functions it is required to perform. Secondly, there is the all important consideration of the influence of political communication on the audience to which it is directed. It is not enough, for instance, that a stream of propaganda should be directed towards a large number of people. More important than that is the receptivity of the audience to the message transmitted. Thirdly, it is all important to make absolutely certain that the message communicated is understood and interpreted aright by the persons for whom it is meant. It should never be that one kind of meaning is intended to be expressed and a very different kind is recorded. Fourthly, in all forms of communication, the overriding consideration is whether the propaganda stream is making people act in the desired way.

Several baffling problems arise with regard to the question of political communication as it may be admitted in the context of every day life in modern societies. Under conditions of war, psychological warfare assumes the character of a military weapon, but in times of peace political communication must have broader and more positive aims—prevention of hostilities and preservation of peace. The machinery for political communication has to function in a much broader way and over a wider field. It has, for instance, to enlist the interest of people in various walks of life. It must be acceptable to them and should generally be in harmony with their cherished ideas.

A very important problem is that of intelligence. One of the greatest difficulties arising in practical affairs is the harmonious working of civilian and military personnel. In many national efforts it is necessary for these two types of personnel to work together. It is a notorious fact that civilians are not security-minded. Innumerable instances can be thought of in which distrust and even tension arises between civilian and military personnel on small matters concerning security. The intelligence requirements for psychological warfare operations are enormous, and the collection of information which has a substantial propaganda value is not an easy task.

Public opinion poses several problems for those who have to organise political communication. On the one hand it must not be forgotten that when people realise that they are coming under the influence of propaganda, they react adversely to it. At the same time, political communication which is not sufficiently not pointed and clearcut will fall flat on the people towards whom it is directed. As Murray Dyer has said "political communication ought not if the basic premises are accepted to try to tamper with thoughts and attitudes. It is based on facts, on reaching conclusions supported by knowledge—knowledge that can be tested by all men and should be available to any who search for the ideas".

Furthermore, the effectiveness of political communication depends to no small extent on its relationship with the political system from which it emerges. Even though a stream of political communication may be directed to a large scattered audience it is bound to influence only a limited section of the population. Communist propaganda for instance will not affect a large population in a non-Communist country in the same way. It will adversely affect quite a few, only making them even more bitter against the political system. It may be expected to influence the

disgruntled and the 'have-nots' who see in it the possibilities of satisfying their immediate needs.

CONCLUSION

To sum up, political communication is a necessary evil in modern times. Public opinion needs to be stimulated by ideas which will spur people to action. It must be remembered, however, that whereas in times of war, propaganda efforts are directed to military ends, the peace-time effort has of necessity to be broad-based, and linked with the specific aims of the diplomatic effort. Like any instrument of war, political communication has the possibility of creating misunderstandings and setting up conflicts or the alternative possibility of correcting wrong impressions, dispelling ignorance and implanting thoughts of peace in the minds of men.

THE EVOLUTION OF DEMOCRACY IN INDONESIA

By VISHAL SINGH

THE PRE-COLONIAL BACKGROUND

THE evolution of democracy in Indonesia has been determined by two major factors (a) the presence of authoritarian tendencies in pre-colonial Indonesia, (b) the Dutch colonial system which continued these authoritarian trends and even strengthened them. During the pre-colonial times, the rulers in South-East Asian States considered that there existed a parallelism between the universe and the world of men. An attempt was made to arrive at harmony between the empire and the universe by organising the former 'as a universe on a smaller scale'. (1) The ruler was the pivot of this small universe. His control over areas away from the centre was negligible and was mainly enforced by irregular expeditions sent mainly to exact tributes from petty chiefs. The seventh-century Sri Vijaya Empire and the fourteenth century Majapahit Empire were great maritime powers, the former's strength lying mainly in its control of the straits of Malacca and the straits of Sunda. The Majapahit Empire was more land-based, having its centre of political power in the fertile Brantas Valley in East Java, but it controlled certain scattered territories in Malaya, Sumatra, Celebes and Moluccas.

Though Indonesia has been markedly influenced by Indian culture and religion, it has developed its own civilisation based on its pre-Hindu traditions. It has a past to be proud of.

THE COLONIAL LEGACY

The Dutch colonial rule with its indirect rule which only intensified the exploitation of peasantry and strengthened the authoritarian rule through the medium of native aristocracy, prepared the setting for the present inter-play of political forces in Indonesia.

There are certain facts about the Dutch Colonial rule which throw a flood of light on the state of affairs in those days.

During the colonial period, Indonesia had the most rudimentary experience in parliamentary democracy. In 1918, a Volksraad (Peoples' Council) was inaugurated. Half of its 48 members in 1920 were nominated by the sovereign. The rest were indirectly elected through local councils. At its best it was a consultative organ. In 1931 the membership was raised to 60. The racial composition was as follows: 30 Indonesians; 25 Dutch; 5 non-native Asians. Out of 38 elected seats in the new arrangements, 15 were reserved for the Dutch. Out of the 22 appointed members, 10 used to be Dutch. The elected representatives were elected indirectly through local councils which in turn were semi-elected.

The first technical college, the first law school; and the first medical college were opened in 1919, 1924 and 1926 respectively. Only 37 Indonesians graduated from colleges in 1940.

The Dutch rule did not create any traditions of healthy parliamentary democracy. Most of the Indonesian nationalist leaders were either in exile or jail, or

(1) R. Heine Geldern, 'Conceptions of State and Kingship in Southeast Asia' Far Eastern Quarterly, 2 (November, 1942) 15.

they were carrying on a hopeless struggle for winning more rights from the Dutch, who were bent on suppression of all non-cooperators with their rule.

THE JAPANESE IMPACT AND THE REVOLUTION

The Japanese invasion of Indonesia in 1942 gave a crushing blow to the white man's prestige in Indonesia. The whole colonial structure fell within a few days before the onslaught of an Asian power. The Japanese rule brought many hardships for the people many of whom were carried away for enforced labour to build the railway in Siam. But they also put many Indonesians in posts of responsibility, encouraged the Indonesian language and decried everything Dutch. However, their greatest contribution was the introduction of a military element in the Indonesian political life. The auxiliary military organisation of Indonesians created by the Japanese to support their war efforts, became in time the nucleus of the Indonesian Republic Army which fought the Dutch during 1945-49. Since 1945 the Indonesian Republican Army has had a political role to play, and the transfer of power by the Dutch in 1949 could not overnight bring about a change in the old attitudes.

When the Dutch left in 1949, the Indonesians had a federal constitution providing for sixteen constituent states, a Senate and a House of Representatives. This was undone in mid-1950 and a unitarian constitution was proclaimed. This could be done because anti-Dutch feelings were strong and the Dutch were the architects of many of the constituent states whose leaders were still suspected of pro-Dutch leanings.

FROM TRANSFER OF POWER (1949) TO THE GENERAL ELECTIONS (1955)

Between December 1949 and March 1956, Indonesia had six cabinets. The first of these was headed by Mohammad Hatta. Two of the Prime Ministers, Sukiman and Burhanuddin Harahap, hailed from the Masjumi Party, a party working for an Islamic state. Two of the cabinets were headed by Wilopo and Ali Sastroamidjojo, both belonging to the Partai Nasional Indonesia (PNI). The Masjumi Party and the Partai Nasional Indonesia cooperated in only three out of the six cabinets: in those of Hatta (non-party), Sukiman (Masjumi Party) and Wilopo (PNI). This conflict between the Masjumi and PNI was a constant feature of Indonesian politics in pre-election days (before 1955). Nahdatul Ulama, a party or orthodox pro-nationalist Muslims had broken away from the Masjumi in 1952. The Indonesian Communist Party which had been lying low since its abortive attempt at a revolt in 1948, showed signs of vigorous activity.

Before the General Elections of 1955 it was widely believed that the political confusion in Indonesia would come to an end once the electorate had the right to decide its future. Till then the country had a parliament whose members were appointed on the basis of what was considered the strength of different political parties, organizations of peasants, labour, women etc. The first General Elections in Indonesia were held on 29 September 1955. The P.N.I. emerged as the strongest party with 22.3% of the votes followed by Masjumi (20.9%), Nahdatul Ulama (18.4%) and the Communist Party (16.4%). Of the remaining groups and individuals the largest votes polled were by a Muslim Party, Partai Sjarikat Islam Indonesia with 2.9%. The well-known Partai Sosialis Indonesia got only 2% of the total votes. In all 28 parties and groups found representation in the first fully elected Parliament. These later on regrouped themselves into 19 parliamentary groups.

As a result of these elections Indonesia got its first cabinet with an elected basis. The cabinet was a coalition of the Nationalist Party (P.N.I.), Masjumi, the

Nahdatul Ulama and some smaller parties. A notable feature of this cabinet was that the Nationalist Party and the Masjumi were cooperating again after a period of three years during which they were doing their utmost to bring each other down.

THE FALL OF THE LAST PARLIAMENTARY CABINET—1957

This cabinet fell for two reasons. The first was the coming into power of dissident military commanders in the outer regions (outside Java) of Indonesia. The second was the gulf between the political ideas, the conception of the state structure and the state ideology of the two parties. The Nationalist Party believed in Pantjasila not only as a State ideology but also as a part of the party ideology. In short, the Pantjasila stands for a secular state emphasising nationalism, internationalism, democracy, social justice and belief in God. The Masjumi has been firm about its idea of an Islamic state, whose picture so far has remained vague. Most of the leaders of the party try to assure the minorities that they will have greater security in an Islamic state. Such statements do not assure either the minorities like Protestants, Catholics and Balinese Hindus or even the vast majority of the Javanese Muslims who feel that in an Islamic state the traditional culture of Java would suffer.

The Masjumi Party had left the coalition cabinet in January 1957. The cabinet carried on for another two months on the basis of P.N.I.-Nahdatul Ulama co-operation, but resigned on 13 March 1957.

The breakdown of this crucial coalition highlighted the political ills of Indonesia. It led to a collapse of the power balance in the Government machinery. Till now, this power relationship was based on the cooperation between President Sukarno and Vice-President Hatta on the one hand and the existence of a cabinet based on General Elections results⁽²⁾ on the other. The Masjumi had withdrawn cooperation from the Cabinet, and Hatta had earlier resigned from his office. The basic conditions for a proper functioning of the existing system had come to an end.

SOEKARNO'S GROWING POWER AND THE DISSIDENTS

Soekarno's influence on the government had always been felt but now he showed greater activity. In October 1956 he denounced the party system and suggested its burial. As already stated, towards the end of 1956, military commanders who were in disagreement with the regional policies of the Central Government, took over power in various parts of Indonesia. In February 1957, President Sukarno gave a call for an all-party cabinet and a National Council composed of representatives of functional groups like workers, intellectuals, peasants, armed forces, women, ex-revolutionaries, youth etc., to offer practical advice on national problems. The latter body was formed but was boycotted by Masjumi. A cabinet was formed, but that was also boycotted by the Masjumi. On the other hand, regional discontent continued. Several conferences with dissidents did not lead to compromise. A major revolt led by many army commanders and political leaders was launched in February 1958. The organized troops of the rebels were defeated but the rebellion still continues in a subdued form.

THE ARMY AND POLITICS

Between February 1958 and July 1959, when President Sukarno by a decree promulgated the former 1945 Constitution of Indonesia and dissolved the Consti-

(2) Roeslan Abdulgani: "Indonesia's National Council: The First Year." *Far Eastern Survey*, V-27 (July 1958) p. 98.

tuent Assembly, certain political trends brought about a new balance of forces in Indonesian politics. The power of President Sukarno grew with leaps and bounds, closely followed by the Army leadership's power. The fact that the Army had to be used as an instrument of his policies by Soekarno, gave it an increased political stature. The army was asked to take over administrative or supervisory duties in civilian spheres. The fact that the army leadership is not very compact and also because it does not seem to have formulated rival political claims, and the recognition of President Soekarno's towering personality and popularity with the masses, have brought about a relationship between the Army and Soekarno, in which the latter appears to be at the top. The rebels continue to give trouble, and the end of rebellion is not in sight in the near future. The popularity of Hatta does not appear to be the same as before, and he may become obscure if he does not make a major political move.

THE GUIDED DEMOCRACY

Soekarno dissolved the elected Parliament on 5 March 1960 because he found it wanting in cooperation. A new Parliament consisting of appointed members was sworn in on 25 June 1960. About half of its members are from political parties, Masjumi keeping out. The rest are from "functional groups" including the armed forces.

Recently Sukarno installed a vast body called the People's Congress consisting of the members of the Parliament and representatives of various regional and functional groups. According to the 1945 Constitution sovereignty would be vested in the people and shall be fully exercised by a Peoples' Congress. (Article 1). This People's Congress was supposed to lay down the outlines of national policy. Previously, a Supreme Advisory Council had also been installed. Its task is to advise the Government on matters of national importance. What is remarkable is that these two bodies and the Parliament have members who have been nominated by the President. Though this action of President may appear authoritarian, he had to respect the wishes of some political parties, the army and religious forces. But he has set his face against Masjumi Party and the Partai Sosialis Indonesia and both have been banned.

Meanwhile, Indonesia's economic difficulties have been growing. There is wide-spread inflation, and export of cash crops is not bringing enough foreign exchange. Much money has to be spent on security operations, particularly in view of the fact that the regions are not yet pacified, and extremist Islamic rebels create disorder in some areas. But the intensive political activity in Indonesia is a sign that more concrete things may emerge out of its present difficulties. In any case, Indonesia has survived crisis for the last ten years, and there is no indication that it is going downhill despite fears expressed abroad. The political pattern that will emerge in Indonesia out of its own trials will perhaps better suit its personality than the wholesale borrowings from the Western systems. With its new Councils which provide wider popular participation than ever, and Sukarno's energetic guidance, Indonesia may after all build a just and prosperous society which it has aimed to all these years.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE INDIAN ARMY

1600—1940

By Lt Col BN MAJUMDAR, ASC

INTRODUCTION

THE history of the Indian Army does not necessarily coincide with the political history of India under the British Crown. Similarly it does not relate to the history of the early European settlers in this country.

Initially the various European powers started infiltrating into India as traders when Vasco Da Gama landed off the coast of Malabar on May 20, 1498. Thereafter the Portuguese, Dutch, Spanish, French and English traders fought between themselves for the rich trading prize in India. From these wars the English emerged victorious even though the first Englishman to reach India was Thomas Stephens in 1579.

After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, the whole of India was in turmoil and the country was divided into petty states all independent of each other. As Southern India was the farthest from Delhi, the control exercised from the Capital was rather weak and remote. The political situation in this part of India was conducive to the infiltration by the foreign traders, particularly the East India Company.

The East India Company was organised under a Royal Charter in 1600 and henceforth they came out to India as traders and settled themselves in Bengal, Bombay and Madras which were coastal towns, and the focal point for subsequent political development in the country.

Actually the history of the Indian Army dates back to the time when the East India Company came out to India and started off as traders. Generally this history falls into four distinct periods—under the East India Company; the Presidency Armies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay; the Unified Indian Army until 1900, and finally till 1940 at the outbreak of World War II. Later developments of the Army primarily embrace the periods from the end of World War II in 1945 to 1947, when India gained independence, and later during the Republic.

EARLY HISTORY

Originally guards were enrolled for the various factories of the East India Company at Surat, Masulipatam, Armagaon, Madras, Hooghly and Balasore in the first half of the 17th century for purposes of protection, ceremonial and lastly for defence. The military necessity for these guards were progressively felt and they were better armed militarized and disciplined.

The foundation of the Indian Army was laid with the "ensign and thirty men" of Bengal, the small holding force of Bombay in 1622 and the 'peons' of the Madras factories.

With the outbreak of war in 1744 between Great Britain and France, the East India Company started seriously to have a military organisation in India. The French were no doubt the initiators and forerunners of organising local armies and this gave impetus to Great Britain to follow suit. Eventually Robert Clive gave the Indian Army a sound military footing and made it a disciplined and fighting organisation.

PRESIDENCY ARMIES

In the early stages there were three distinct and separate Presidency Armies of Madras, Bengal and Bombay. "The geographical situation of the first settlements thus gave rise to local or Presidency armies which were practically independent of each other."

The army in India consisted of two parts—the Europeans and the Indians. Both these were intermingled in any one organisation though each had its own separate rules, regulations and pay and allowances. There were European Infantry, Cavalry and Artillery. Some regular regiments were sent out from Britain to India for service with the Company and others were recruited and organised locally from amongst the mercenaries and foreign prisoners of war.

Some time in 1757 Clive started to improve the arms, equipment and organisation of the Indian troops. The local troops were armed with assorted weapons and these were soon replaced by modern firearms, clothing and were drilled and disciplined on the European model. The Rohillas and the Rajputs were the first to be enlisted in the regular army. In Madras six battalions were organised in 1759 and in Bombay assorted castes were formed into battalions in 1767.

To begin with these battalions were commanded by Indian officers with European supervisory staff but gradually European Commanding officers and a few subalterns were introduced.

As the Company's rule progressed in all directions, the Army was also expanded. The political condition and temperament of the people of the country were conducive to the founding of the British Empire in India though the British had originally come to this country as traders. They took advantage of the local situation. The Mughal Empire was dying, the Marathas had been checked and the country was divided into various independent principalities of native states who had taken slices off the previous empire which had faded out. The other foreign traders like the Dutch, French, Portuguese, all were trying to take advantage of the situation. Eventually out of this cauldron the British emerged victorious. The constant campaigns and expeditions led to changes, reorganisations and increases in the forces of the Company.

In subsequent years the Company's Indian Army was engaged in various local battles with the Dutch, Mysore state, Marathas, French and emerged victorious. There was constant development and improvement of the army.

The Indian Army was formed into brigades with proper staff, artillery was increased and a commander-in-chief for each Presidency army was appointed. Many aspects of military administration were improved.

The army was recruited from various classes and they were good material. Initially Pathans, Rohillas, Rajputs, Arabs and Abyssinians were recruited but later Brahmins were also included. Troops were well trained and disciplined. "The power of marching and manoeuvring in solid formations and of concentrating fire, and the use of well served guns, enabled small bodies of the Company's soldiers to overcome loosely arrayed hordes of their adversaries."

In 1796 the Indian Army was reorganised and the Bengal Army was the first to be so reformed.

The infantry and cavalry were separated and their officers were placed on a separate general list. Infantry regiments were formed by linking existing battalions and amalgamating half battalions. There were British and Indian officers and the

commanding officer was a Colonel. Each battalion had 2 grenadier and 8 infantry companies with a total strength of 1,600 sepoys.

Advancement in the army was generally slow but under the new rules officers upto the rank of Major were on the regimental list for promotion and those of higher ranks were on separate Presidency lists. General officers came into a separate establishment. Leave and other living conditions of all were also improved.

Similar were the improvements in the Madras and Bombay armies. In addition to infantry, cavalry and artillery regiments, they had a marine battalion.

The battalion commanders had sufficient authority for recruiting, promotion and grant of leave.

From 1798 onwards there were further improvements in the Army. The British authority became predominant and other outside and inside influences were gradually eliminated. In the process the Presidency armies were increased and, by the end of the 18th century, the army was further increased to a total of 154,000 British and Indian troops in the three Presidencies.

The mutinies of Vellore (Madras Army) and Barackpore (Bengal Army) took place in 1806 and 1824. But these were brought under control.

The year 1834 saw another reorganisation of double battalion regiments into single battalion regiments and numbered according to the date of their original raising.

The irregular Cavalry and local corps were still in service to supplement the defence measures of the regular army. It was, economical to maintain and particularly suited for garrisoning the new areas conquered by the Company. In addition to these local garrison troops, the native states maintained contingent of troops which were sent when their aid was asked for by the British Government.

The Bengal Army was mostly recruited from the high-caste Hindus, the Madras Army composed of all castes resident in this province and the Bombay Army recruited some Hindustanis in addition to those of its own Presidency. The total strength of the Army on the eve of the great mutiny was 38,000 Europeans, 276 field guns and 348,000 Indian troops with 248 field guns. This was really a large establishment the British had created in India.

In 1857, the great mutiny which was started off by the Bengal Army, broke out. There are many reasons which were both political and religious. But after this mutiny the whole structure of the India Army was completely changed. After two years of fighting, peace and order were restored, the Bengal Army dissolved, and a new Indian Army was raised and organised. The East India Company ceased to exist in 1858 and the administration of the Indian Empire was taken over by the British Crown.

INDIAN ARMY UNDER THE CROWN

On the recommendation of a Royal Commission it was laid down that the British force in India should be 80,000 all ranks and the Indian Army should not exceed by more than two to one in the Bengal Army and three to one in the Madras and Bombay Armies. It was also recommended that the Indian Army should be a mixture of all classes. Actually, however, this mixture of the Indian regiments was never wholly adopted and it gradually fell into disuse.

After the mutiny it had been the policy of the Crown to maintain British troops in India for peace and tranquility and for protection of the Europeans serv-

ing in this country. Generally almost all expenses in respect of maintaining British garrisons in India were defrayed by the Company.

As a result of the mutiny, the Bengal Army ceased to exist, but the Madras and Bombay Armies, the Hyderabad Contingent and the Punjab Frontier Force, who remained faithful, were not abolished though some organisational changes were incorporated.

In 1861 the Cavalry and Infantry were first reorganised. Irregular cavalry units were disbanded and infantry levies were broken up. In both the cases the surpluses were transferred to the police and in other employment. Indian artillery was abolished except for a few units which remained loyal during the mutiny.

The Indian Army was thus organised on the irregular system and the cavalry on the old silladar system. Under this plan there were now fewer British officers than in the past. Otherwise they were regular troops in the proper sense of the term.

Indian Cavalry regiments had 420 sowars and with Indian Staff and six other British officers. The Infantry regiments had 600 sepoys with Indian Staff and six other British officers. All these plans were finally implemented in 1863. Thus after the reorganisation the total strength of the Army was 205,000 of which 65,000 were British troops.

In 1861 a Staff Corps was formed for officering the newly reorganised Indian Army. It could draw its officers from both British and Indian officers. Henceforth all future appointments in the Army were to be made from the British Army and not from the Company's exclusive military college.

Cadets commissioned from Sandhurst could be posted to Indian Army Units on one year's attachment to a British Unit. The system of promotion was eleven years for the rank of Captain, 20 years for Major, Lieutenant Colonel 26 years and Brevet Colonel after holding the rank of Lieutenant Colonel for 5 years.

The period between 1860-1878 was restful as the Indian Army was busy consolidating its reorganised stature. The three Presidency Armies were still existing and only dress, equipment and armament were changed.

However, the Afghan War of 1878-80 brought about some more important changes in the Army. The Army Organisation Commission of 1879 was assembled by Lord Lytton, and four cavalry and eighteen infantry regiments were reduced. Their strength was, however, increased to 550 for cavalry and 832 for infantry units. This met the demands for increased efficiency and fighting power.

Other important changes were the centralisation of the military accounts and audit department under one Accountant General; amalgamation of the Remount Department under one head in 1876; combination and amalgamation of the Ordnance Department under one Central head in 1884; reorganisation of the transport service and framing of commissariat regulations; non-enlistment of certain low-caste people whose military performance had been unsatisfactory; reorganisation and adjustments in the class composition of the regiments and finally the institution of pioneer corps and Army Hospital Corps.

Between 1885-87 Russian encroachment in Afghanistan prompted some further increases. Cavalry, infantry, mountain artillery and pioneers were all increased and every battalion strength was raised to 912 sepoys. These were completed by 1887.

After 1886 the infantry battalions were linked together in regiments of three or two and thus supply of trained men to the battalions in the field was ensured. In 1888 regimental centres were also fixed at convenient places.

The reserve component for the regular army was also formed. These numbers were limited to 218 for an infantry battalion in the Bengal and Punjab Armies, 160 for the Madras and Bombay Armies, and 300 for the Sappers and Minors. This was later extended to the mounted batteries and military railway companies. The strength of the reserve was increased to 50,000 men with reduced pay of Rs. 2 per month. These reserves came up for training for two months every two years.

Service in the reserve was never liked by the people of Madras even though men from other parts of India responded satisfactorily. To make it more attractive pay and pension rules were revised, pension was granted after 21 years service and the scale of gratuities was made more liberal.

The Native state of India also organised military units financed by them for helping the British Crown in an emergency. These were known as the Imperial Service Troops.

In addition a completely militarized service known as the Military Works Services was organised in 1890. Perhaps this department is the forerunner of our present day Military Engineer Services (MES).

The three Presidency Commissariat departments were amalgamated in 1885 with the appointment of a commissary-general-in-chief. In 1891 the three Presidency Army Staff Corps were amalgamated into one Indian Staff Corps. Pay and allowances of the Indians were increased throughout the Army. Regular recruiting depots were organised and established under District Recruiting officers to recruit better material in the Army. Undesirable classes were eliminated and the "class company" system in place of "general mixture" was instituted.

In other words there were general improvements in manpower, weapon power and equipment power throughout the Army. "This change was introduced because the class system attracted a better stamp of men, regiments were more contented, a sound spirit of rivalry between Corps was created, and the separation of classes was felt to be more consonant with the general policy than the mixture."

In 1893 the British Parliament passed the famous Madras and Bombay Armies Act whereby the post of commanders-in-chief of these armies was abolished and the military control was henceforth centralised under the central government. A more modern system of command, control and administration of the army was put into force.

UNIFIED ARMY OF INDIA

So far there were three Presidency Armies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay each under a separate commander-in-chief, far apart, and with own set of rules and regulations and pay and allowances. The question of their coordinated employment, during the various wars in which the British were engaged from time to time created not only problems of command and control but also affected the morale of the rank and file. As each had different conditions of service, some better and some not so good in comparison, that it bred discontentment in those who were not well off.

Gradually also, the Army had more responsibility than the other which was stretching the resources and making the set-up rather unwieldy. Similarly the commander-in-chief at the centre had little or no authority over the Armies of Madras and Bombay.

All these evils were considered by the Army Organisation Commission of 1879 and as a result, India was divided into four territorial commands of Punjab, Bengal, Madras and Bombay, each under a Lieutenant General and a command

Headquarters with the staff and departmental staff. The Central authority was no doubt the Army Headquarters and the Military Department. This new reorganisation came into force in April 1895.

Between the period 1895-1903 there were considerable military activity. Indian Army was engaged in South Africa, China and Waziristan. Considerable changes in the equipment, organisation, class composition and garrisoning of colonies were effected. Indian troops were strengthened by the addition of extra troops and equipment and they were employed in far off lands of Mauritius, Ceylon, Singapore, South Africa to garrison these places. The troops supplied by the Native States were brought under the Commander-in-chief and allotted to various territorial commands.

In 1896 the Medical Services were amalgamated under one head—a Director General, the Director General of Ordnance controlled all the factories, the frontier districts and passes were now held and garrisoned by the militia thereby economising in regular troops.

In 1900 the regimental system was reorganised on the "Double Company" system in place of the old "wing" or half-battalion system. Thus the double company had a British officer in charge and the companies being still commanded by Indian officers.

The Indian Staff Corps was now designated as Indian Army Staff Corps from 1903. The transport service was also reorganised in 1900 with organised camel, mule and cart units in cadre form, whereas the bulk of the transport was to be kept by the regiments and depots.

The .303 magazine rifle was introduced in 1900 and all troops were armed with this weapon. Mountain guns, field artillery and machine guns were also either improved or introduced. Mounted infantry schools were established and the title of the Commissariat department was changed to Supply and Transport Corps in 1900-1901.

Mobilisation plan. Increased equipment and ammunition, simplification of accounting procedure, remount departments were all improved and established. Military grass and dairy farms were established. Artillery was organised on brigade basis with three field or two horse-artillery batteries and ammunition columns.

The other material improvements that took place were in the sphere of clothing and head gear, barracks, recreation and exercise, food, water supply and drainage, medical and hygienic facilities, accommodation in the hills and in almost all spheres of moral and material welfare.

Another reorganisation took place in the formulation of the divisional concept. It was recognised that the main task of the Army was the defence of NWFP and organisation and training of the Army in the form as it would take the field in case of a war. Based on these, were three Army Corps Commands (Northern, Western and Eastern) and ten divisional commands. Each divisional command was capable of supplying one full division for the field. Under the divisions were the brigades. Thus in each division there were one cavalry and three infantry brigades commanded by a major-general with other supporting arms, services and garrison force for maintenance of internal order.

The higher command structure also underwent a change. A military member of the Governor-General-in-Council coordinated the executive control of the Army through his military department. The Commander-in-Chief is practically always appointed to be an Extraordinary Member of Council, ranking there next after the Viceroy; and being thus "in the Cabinet and superior in rank to the Mili-

tary Member, he occupies a more important position than that formerly held by the Commander-in-Chief at home." The system of administration of the Army was now being conducted through the Army Department under the Commander-in-Chief, and the Department of Military Supply under the Ordinary Member of Council.

The Supply and Transport Corps, Army Clothing Department, Ordnance Department, Military Accounts Department, Medical Stores Department and Indian Medical Service, Remount Department, Military Works Service and Army Headquarters, were all reorganized on modern lines for efficient command and control and maintenance of the forces both during peace and war.

Commander-in-Chief's powers for appointments, financial and discipline were enhanced. The four main commands had adequate staff and departmental heads, and were divided into first and second class districts in the four Commands.

The training of officers for staff duties was taken in hand and the Indian Staff College at Quetta was sanctioned and commenced in 1905.

Recruiting was done on class basis by the recruiting officers of particular areas or through relatives or friends in the cavalry regiments.

Pay and allowances of the officers were pay of rank plus pay of appointment. The starting salary of a Lieutenant was Rs. 225 per month rising up to Rs. 287 for a Lieutenant Colonel. The pay of appointment varied from Rs. 150 to Rs. 700 in the Cavalry and Rs. 100 to Rs. 600 in the Infantry regiments.

Promotion for officers was on time scale which was nine years as Lieutenant, nine years as Captain, eight years as Major and Lieutenant Colonel after 26 years service. A Lieutenant Colonel who has held his rank for three years may be promoted to brevet or substantive rank of Colonel. Officers could also be seconded to civil departments in which case they were struck off regimental strength on permanent absorption. All officers rotated between staff and regimental duties. Also they had to qualify in Hindustani and in the principal language of their regiment or Corps.

The pay and pension of the sepoys was brought on a common level, as, so far, each Presidency Army had its own scales. The general monthly pay was Rs. 9 per month and it was accepted that if the cost of living went up 50 per cent the government paid for this excess by grant of extra pay. Extra pay and good service pay was also authorised to NCOs. The pension was Rs. 4 per month after 21 years service. Gratuities for wounds and injuries and family pension was also admissible. The Order of British India and the Indian Order of Merit were also instituted with allowances.

Winter and summer dresses were in vogue. The artillery wore blue, engineers red, infantry wore red, dark green, blue or drab and putties and boots.

INDIAN ARMY FROM 1900-1940

The mutiny of 1857 completely upset the Army and it required urgent reorganization. The Bengal Army which was the most afflicted, ceased to exist. The other two armies of Madras and Bombay were reorganized and a new Army of the Punjab was added. Thereafter, the Army was being continually reorganized in all spheres. Lord Kitchener was sent out to India to reorganize and modernise the Army. In addition to the various operational groupings on division and brigade basis, the class composition of the Army was revised, in that, the martial and non-

martial classes were grouped and recruited according to their suitability in the cavalry and infantry.

Radical changes were, however, introduced as a result of the experiences gained during World War I. The main changes were abolition of practically half the cavalry by combining the regiments, disbandment of all the Carnatic battalions, the organization of a covering force to hold the NWFP so as to allow the army enough time to mobilise and take up positions, introduction of motor transport companies and grouping of the infantry into regiments and depot and training battalions. A territorial force was also instituted.

Indian officers were admitted in Sandhurst and were granted King's Commissions, and steps were instituted to gradually Indianize the Army. There was allround reduction in the strength of the Infantry, Cavalry and Artillery.

There was not much activity in the Army during the intervening period between World War I and 1939. When the start of another war loomed large there was again feverish activity to reorganize and re-equip the Indian Army so that it can effectively lend support to the British. The officer cadre was not only Indianized but also considerably expanded. The higher defence organization was remodelled, and Commands, Areas, Districts, Sub Areas, Division, Brigades and Corps were set up. Thus on the eve of World War II Indian Army was an efficient and potent fighting force in the British Empire. During this war the Army took part in various operations in the far flung places like France, Malaya, Burma, Borneo, Hongkong, Somaliland, Abyssinia, Eritrea, Sudan, Syria, Iraq, Persia, North Africa and Italy. Their actions and achievements brought undying fame to the country and the soldiers.

CONCLUSION

The military efficiency of the Indian Army suffered due to its cumbersome administrative system which was inherited from the Mughols. Under this system much of the requirements of the Army was provided regimentally on a contract basis and there was no organized military services to provide these needs of the Army either in peace or in war. With certain changes to suit the needs of the times, this system was allowed to continue because of economical reasons.

Only after various administrative failures during World War I that, in spite of prohibitive costs, the Indian Army's administrative support was organized on modern lines and all its requirements were met through departmental army sources.

The Indian Army passed through various stages of chequered evolution. It started off as peons in Company's service, was later developed for ceremonial defence purposes, became tools in the hands of the British traders as a weapon of expansion by taking sides in India, was later developed both as regular and irregular troops and finally into a full fledged regular army after the Mutiny, fully equipped and trained not only to defend her own frontiers but also helped policing the other British colonies in the East.

During the period under review, from 1662 to 1940, the Indian Army matured from adolescence to youth and thereafter progressed further. Throughout this period it had good and enthusiastic officers of the calibre of Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchner to guide its destinies. No wonder that the Indian Army was more and more used in implementing imperial policies of the British in the East.

Whatever it was, the achievements and success of the Indian Army after the post-partition days, is a glowing tribute to those dedicated soldiers who laid its foundation and nurtured it with signal devotion and loyalty during its formative and growing years.

BUSINESS OF WAR MAKING

MAJOR BHATENDRA SINGH

INTRODUCTION

CLAUSEWITZ in his treatise on war stated that "War is the continuation of state policy by different means." Wars were thus regarded as application of force or threat of its use in gaining ends of state policy. Although, the practice of using military force for resolving sociological conflicts is as old as civilizations, it must, however, be admitted that it had been a means but not by far the best. In the light of progress made in collective security and organisations like the UN, war as means to decide disputes may be considered primitive, nevertheless, the possibility of war is no less today than it was fifty years back. The technique has developed so much that in order to comprehensively understand the business of making wars, it is essential that the process is viewed in all its ramifications and aspects, political, material, and moral.

Since our policies have been cast with the Gandhian ideal of non-violence in the background, wars are alien to our thinking and any reference to making of wars is tabooed in our parleys and discussions. If we examine the aim of national policies, which is, to ensure national security and prosperity at home and prestige and balanced international relations abroad, it at once becomes apparent that in spite of best intentions a state may be dragged into conflicts which it so earnestly wishes to avoid. Chronology of events leading to World War II are easy to be recalled. One, therefore, wonders how a country—should set about to ensure that she is not caught napping by others whose business may be to ask for trouble.

The aim of this article is to consider how problems concerning the business of making wars may be handled by policy makers, what steps are taken or measures adopted including machinery set up to obtain considerable diversity of knowledge about foreign countries. This is not an attempt to discuss pre-emptive wars where the problem is to know exactly when the next move of the likely enemy is to be, to enable to strike before he strikes and thereby destroy his actual and potential power to make wars.

POLICY MAKING

Cabinet is ultimately responsible for all policies, although it may appoint smaller committees to deal with some matters. For example, higher defence control and joint defence planning during peace may be entrusted to the Defence Committee of the Cabinet. There should be joint staff to feed accurate and upto date information and share responsibility for execution; necessity for a secretariat is obvious.

The policies, normally have two aspects, viz a positive aspect and the national security aspect. The positive aspect is initiated with the aim of contributing to better world order, enhance own national prosperity at home and prestige abroad. National security aspect is undertaken to counter those policies of foreign nations which are inimical to own interests and may include such measures which safe guard against foreign aggression.

Of various means or agencies for pursuing its policies, available to a country, the ones most commonly used are, the United Nations Organisation, diplomatic corps, political and economic pressure, propaganda and wars. If the policies are sound i.e., arrived logically after deep study of relevant factors, and the instrumentality used in their pursuit appropriate, there should seldom be an occasion for

unexpected to occur. However, there are repeated examples in history when despite realisation of the importance of such a study, people responsible have failed to be vigilant guardians of their sphere of responsibility.

STRATEGIC INTELLIGENCE

The studies referred in Para above, should aim at providing exhaustive knowledge of geographical, political, material and moral resources of foreign countries for framing own policies. The knowledge is required by the political leaders in power and is known as strategic intelligence. It is obtained through a process of close and systematic observation—known as surveillance—of an area, subject, event, phenomena or personality.

The knowledge is classified in the following forms:

- (a) **Static or basic descriptive form.**—Consist of reports about relatively static things like terrain, natural resources, population, character and so on. During the last war, belligerents compiled encyclopedias on countries they were interested in, to enable their planners to assess the country's attribute as a battle zone. This intelligence is essentially descriptive in character.
- (b) **Dynamic or current reportorial form.**—Description and study of the nature, extent and effects of the changes in practically all the unstable or partially stable matter that formed the contents of the basic descriptive form.

FACTOR GEOGRAPHIC

Study of geography of a country is as important to the planners, as is study of ground in tactics. Location, physical features, natural resources and communications are important aspects which are taken into consideration in assessing the power of a foreign nation and determining its relative position on the international stage. Although the components of this factor are relatively stable, changes made by human beings and the direction of these changes must be taken into consideration, that is to say, that it must be studied both in basic descriptive as well as current reportorial forms.

In so far as the location is concerned it is interesting to note three things. Firstly, there are some areas on the globe which have been trouble spots for a very long time in the past e.g., the Sinai Peninsula and the Low countries in Europe. It has been a practice in the past to send military officers in civilian clothes to study the topography of the areas with a view to utilise their knowledge in case of a war. Secondly, the isolating effect of oceans in case of America or of the English Channel in case of Europe or the desire on part of Russia for access to the warmer seas have been factors of some consequence to the planners. Lastly, the balance of power in between any two natural divisions of the globe, for example, take regions North and South of the great spine starting from Caucasus and running East through Pamir upto the China Sea, if we compare the two regions since 1900 to what they are today, in stability, cooperation, economics, sociology and nationalism, we find that in 1923, the situation first changed when Japan consolidated her power while progressive political disintegration set in the South, resulting in the stronger North and upsetting the balance. Although the map of the world and the number of political units/empires viz., 3 in the North against 5—6 in the South remains the same, the balance has again shifted as a result of emergence of Red China as a great power.

Mountain barriers like the Himalayas, Pyrenees and the Alps have, and shall continue to be of profound interest to policy makers. Absence of a land

barrier endow the countries concerned with strategic weakness of opening a land invasion route; e.g., on her West, Russian plains run into the plains of Poland and Eastern Germany, forming a traditional land invasion route into Russia. West Pakistan controls the traditional land invasion route to India. For centuries, invasion armies from the North West have fought decisive battles in the fields of Panipat. Rivers afford good lines of defence e.g., rivers of the Punjab.

National power is becoming more and more dependent upon the availability and control of raw material including food. Deficiency in home growth food has been a permanent source of weakness to Great Britain and Germany. Changes in levels of consumption of food based on ideas of nutrition and increase or decrease of agricultural products due to technique of production must be studied. Requirements of other raw materials are evaluated in terms of technological innovations in warfare. Two examples of such innovations during the last war, were, use of tanks and aircraft in great numbers in close support of the land forces and the use of nuclear weapons.

Communications facilitate concentration of balanced force at will at a decisive point. Generally, good communications are an advantage to the attacker while lack of them favours the defence.

POLITICAL RESOURCES

It is important to consider form of government, important personalities, political parties, foreign policy and social set-up in a foreign country to arrive at an estimate of its capacity and power in case of war. It is to be observed, how on significant issues, various political units/parties unite en bloc or split up into faction or disintegrate into other groups or form coalitions. A new legislation may be undertaken affecting political expression, or new groups and organisations may exert influence from outside party framework. Biographical data about personalities exerting great influence in the affairs of their countries is compiled, and a track of the movements and liaison kept, to forecast their reactions to any future circumstantial developments and repercussions on the international scene. In addition, potential leadership strata of the population is studied for character and traditions, ideologies, weaknesses and the influence wielded.

With regard to the social aspects, some of the points to watch are, changes in age occupational and consumer groups, rates of population, emigrants, labour force, and organisations like clubs, secret societies, lodges and cooperatives. Religious feelings may be easy to be provoked and religious fanaticism worked up to unite the masses to achieve the end. Programme of educational institutions and the government directive on such subjects as the text books on history may reveal information of value. Changes in the statutory and judge-made laws may in turn change the course of human behaviour throughout the population pyramid.

Foreign policies of other nations should be assessed for effectiveness in the light of their respective power potentials and means available for their pursuit. Failure on part of a foreign power to implement its policy or fulfil obligations may seriously affect own policies and international situation. These repercussions may have to be catered for or allowances made, in planning and formulating own policies. The profound effect of the policy of neutrality followed by the Low Countries just before World War II, on the course of war and allied strategy is well known.

MATERIAL RESOURCES

Since the competition among nations for power takes the form largely of a race for production of bigger, better and more implements of war, it is not surprising that the leading industrial nations are also the great powers of the world today. Self sufficiency in weapons of modern war is important factor to be evaluated. It is required to ascertain how self sufficient a foreign nation is, and is likely to be in case of a war. In the absence of adequate industrial capacity to sustain a modern war, alliances in case of hostilities can be surmised, besides the measure of its war potential and international power. To assess industrial capacity it is required to study resources of power, availability of industrial plants, control and availability of raw materials and the technical know how of the labour, the engineers, the inventive genius, scientific and managerial organisation.

An eye must also be kept on current economic developments and future trends. A study of the budget and expenditure on maintenance of armed forces and civil administration, emergence of new industries and sinking of new mines, distribution of national wealth, agriculture, transport, and policies effecting unit organisations, banking, finance and foreign trade may give useful pointers.

In computing the power of a nation, the common error of confining one's attention to the resources, and neglecting the ability to combine such resource to generate the necessary national power must be avoided. On the latent side, there are three chief factors which influence this evaluation, viz., the amount of fat in the economy, amount of slack in the economy, and the flexibility which the economy is capable of withstanding.

MORAL RESOURCES

Under this heading I propose to discuss all the influences which are generically related to human nature, e.g., morals, national character, national morale, and leadership. Qualitative nature of these components is generally illusive from the point of view of rational prognosis and the weightage which they exert on the stature of a nation in the international sphere. Although, concept of what is right or wrong conduct varies from people to people, it is useful to watch the morals generally and in particular attitudes towards religion, patriotism, private property, executive machinery, corruption and universal military training. In case of morals it is not enough to merely ascertain the beliefs but also to know, how strongly people feel for so-called "their cause", and the value of propaganda to counter or reinforce existing fervours.

National character and national morale, permeate all activities of a nation such as exploitation of resources, industrial capacity and military preparedness. These two aspects influence national power, because those who act, formulate, execute and support its policies; elect and are elected; produce and consume industrial goods; mould public opinion; bear the imprint of intellectual and moral qualities of that nation. Certain qualities of intellect and character occur more frequently and are more highly valued in one nation than in the other and these set the nation apart from others.

Detailed study of political, social, religious leaders and of high ranking civil and military officials is necessary, because of their importance in influencing public opinion and maintaining high state of morale without which no government can pursue its policies with full effectiveness. Ability to carry with them, their colleagues and opponents at home, through fair or foul means is an important attri-

bute of personality for internal affairs; while in international diplomacy, tact, personal charm, perserverance and reasoning go a long way.

SPECULATION

Based on the evaluation of the data and conclusions drawn from the knowledge obtained in basic descriptive and current reportorial forms, speculation as to the future course of action is undertaken. It is enormously complicated process, requiring considerable foresight which can only come after a deep and sound study. The activity is known as research and consists of follow up and comparing divergent and extensive range of knowledge so as to gain correct perspective, and detect corrolationship between different pieces of information i.e., establishing meaningful patterns out of the past observed material. Finally, integrate the pieces of information to produce the most plausible proposition or hypothesis answering the past, present and future behaviour of a foreign country.

First step is to find out the strategic stature—amount of influence it can exert in an international situation—of the foreign country under study. The international situation being defined as any difference of opinion, misunderstanding, dispute—major or minor—which may occur between sovereign states and which may have remote or immediate bearing upon world security e.g., Korea, Suez. The influence is exerted through simple means—known as instrumentalities—like properly worded and delivered formal note of objection, moral pursuasion, propaganda, political and economic threats, inducements, embargo, blockade or other stringent economic sanctions which might set off a total war.

There are a number of variables in each situation in which a country is expected to exert influence, although the twin elements of time and geographic location are always there. Elements likely to differ from one situation to the other are, the degree of real or fancied gravity as appreciated by the country concerned, extent of the sacrifice the country is prepared to make, power alignments, war potential, and the weight, applicability and effectiveness of its instrumentalities.

Another term which is frequently used in this context is 'specific vulnerability'. This is the debit/liability side of the strategic balance sheet. It includes those soft spots, the exploitation of which by psychological, political, economic and military weapons would yield results. For example, German synthetic oil production and aircraft factories were the most vulnerable points of strategic bombardment in World War II.

The problem for speculation resolves itself to indicating, what is the strategic stature of a foreign country? What are the specific vulnerabilities, instrumentalities and agencies involved? Based on the answers to these, what course of action it is likely to initiate herself or take up in response to courses of action initiated elsewhere.

ORGANISATION FOR STUDYING ACTIVITIES

The directive to undertake close and systematic observation of a foreign country is usually given by the planners of policies, although the organisation on its own may also initiate and embark on surveillance and research on matters which may come to light during the course of their business. Surveillance is carried out by Foreign Observation Posts and Home Observation Posts. Foreign Observation Posts are organised by the ambassadorial staff located in the foreign country itself or neutral countries. Their sources are own attaches, newspaper correspondents,

tourists, visiting goodwill and trade missions and students exchanged under various schemes. Some embassies are known to practise espionage and other clandestine activities against their host countries. Countries other than the one under surveillance provide ideal and extensive field for such activities. Home Observation Posts also provide excellent and convenient surveillance as radio broadcasts can be monitored and even recorded. They also watch activities of foreigners in own country efficiently and unobtrusively.

Knowledge gained by observation posts is passed on to Library Groups who are responsible for collection and recording of all data which can easily be referred to by planners, research workers and policy makers. The Library Group should also have a supervisory element to allocate, direct, and coordinate activities of the professional staff engaged in basic descriptive and current reportorial forms.

The Library Groups are in turn responsible to their respective departmental or central organisations to whom all knowledge must be ultimately passed for research. Normally the central organisation is primarily concerned with coordination, supervision, managing inter-departmental projects, and measures taken to deny and frustrate surveillance of foreign countries. The departmental organisations do the field work i.e., observe, report, speculate on past present and future phenomena concerning matters affecting them directly. Usually, the ministries of External Affairs, Defence and Home have departmental organisations to enable them to plan and formulate policies in their own spheres. The central and departmental organisations are both similarly constituted and may contain administrative element, clerical group and professional staff. The professional staff are the most important component, as they study the minutest changes in their respective jurisdiction of surveillance, carry out further research, direct new information to be obtained, and draw such conclusions as assume the form of plausible theories and hypothesis.

CONCLUSION

May the future wars be means for gaining ends of foreign policy, pre-emptive, prophylectic, or accidental in nature; let the intentions of the leaders of the world be sincere and very peace loving, it is incumbent on policy makers and top planners that they keep their eyes and ears open always and every time, if they want to ensure that their wards have a chance of survival in the world of competing states. The business of dealing with wars entails being clear about what knowledge is required, what activities are to be pursued and setting up organisations necessary to cope with. There is nothing clandestine, shameful or horrible about this business of studying wars, as large portion of the knowledge for such study is obtained through open, patient and persevering surveillance and research.

A MOUNTAIN SANCTUARY IN GARHWAL

Nanda Devi and the Rishiganga Valley

By HARI DANG

NANDA Devi is not only the highest and most impressive mountain in India, but its 25,645-foot-high summit in Garhwal dominates three hundred inaccessible square miles of the 'most beautiful mountain scenery in the world'.

It was only a generation after Dr. Thomas Longstaff's pioneer bid to cross the 20,000-foot-high, sixty-mile-long enclosing rim of peaks and ridges, that Eric Shipton and H. W. Tilman, in 1935, managed to penetrate the gorge of the Rishiganga, the river which drains the region and offers the only feasible route into the mountain's sanctuary. By then the Most Blessed Goddess had gathered for itself a 'legend of inaccessibility' and a prominent place in the aspirations of most Himalayan climbers. The first and only successful ascent by an Anglo-American Expedition under the guidance of the veteran Tilman in 1936 did nothing to dispel the legend or dull the aspirations, and numerous expeditions have since been made without success.

The Spinozan Ethic—the hard is the best—must appeal to mountain enthusiasts for they seem to gaily yearn to run the treacherous gauntlet of an ordeal by the Rishiganga gorge to reach the feet of the Devi. This initial obstacle, a most remarkable mountain feature even for the giant Himalayas, bearing as it does the indications of divine handiwork, exerts a powerful fascination. It is a spur to the imagination, and a test of the enthusiasm, of the traveller; a hurdle, as it were, to dissuade the luke-warm and eliminate the faint-hearted.

Long before the Greeks inhabited Mount Olympus with their godly Pantheon, or Dante climbed Purgatory, Hindus had been worshipping the sacred Himalaya, the abode of God and the spacious residence of the Divine Spirits; they worshipped from afar, from the temples of Benaras and Hardwar, from Badrinath and Gangotri. And the Himalaya they worshipped was not Everest, which is higher, or the Kara Korum, which is vaster, but the snows of Garhwal, and Nanda Devi, which presides over them. And even today, a less spiritual and more pragmatic India cannot escape from that Presidency of Nanda Devi, visible as a vague on clear autumn days from Delhi's Qutub Minar.

As every good Hindu knows, Joshimath, the present road-head for the pilgrimage to Badrinath, stands above the confluence of the Vishnuganga, originating beyond Badrinath, and the Dhauliganga which comes down from the border pass of Niti; together they flow on as the sacred Alaknanda to Devprayag before joining the Bhagirathi to form the Ganges of the plains.

As all good mountain-lovers know, some ten miles above Joshimath the Rishi meets the Dhaul, hurtling through its impassable lower gorge. To circumvent this one crosses the Lata Kharak (or Dharanshi) Pass to enter the relatively easier middle section of the Rishi, known as the Outer Sanctuary.

A three-day scramble from the Pass across enormous sweeps of scree and steep, wild ravines and cliff-faces brings the traveller to the Rhamani junction with the Rishi at the foot of the gorge proper. The enchanting alps of Dharanshi and Dibrugetha, "horizontal bits of arcady in a vertical chaos," set off the phantasmagoria of the terrain with their lush pastures and restful gradients.

Beyond Rhamani is the No Mans Land of little-explored terrain that even the enterprising Bhotia shepherds fear to tread. Even the prospect of plentiful Burrhel (Himalayan Wild Blue Sheep) and Musk Deer (source of the precious aphrodisiac 'musk-pod') is not sufficient temptation for braving the Goddess's Sanc-

tuary. The lush and succulent pasturelands of the Sanctuary lie ungrazed, for the local hillmen know what we in our facile sophistication forget; that the luscious grasses and sward, the wild flowers, Musk and the Burrhel of the Nanda Devi Sanctuary are not for the profit of course mortals, but the especial preserve of mountain gods that demand a wide margin to their privacy.

But fools ever rush in, and in the name of joy and delectation, four such, two masters of the Doon School, one their student and an Indian Army Brigadier set out on the trail of the pioneers this summer to realise the vision and wish of a lifetime by a successful pilgrimage to this haven.

The four miles of difficult gorge beyond Rhamani took its pioneers two weeks; it is a rumble-tumble of steep scree, overhanging cliff and fragrant slopes of dwarf Rhododendron (*R. anthopogon* and *R. lepidotum*), across which a route has to be worried slowly. The close of May found this emerging from its "winter garment of repentance," with the vivid hues of spring taking over. The sheer and often overhanging cliffs directly above the river categorically forbid trespass, but to a pilgrim fired with the love of an ardent mountaineer, the cracks and ledges in the otherwise hopeless rockwalls speak a concealed and exclusive welcome. The solitary Birch or Spruce tree, or tuft of grass dawning new-sprung foliage beckons him on.

Downward sloping slabs and shale, arranged like a receding pack of cards, needed respect even though dry, and necessitated the use of fixed ropes. But even the worst stretches were relieved in their gloomy, brooding splendour by the delicate violet-and-purple sprays of the flowering rock anemones (*Paraquilegia grandiflora*) growing out of moist cliff-faces free of winter snow. Adding to the difficulties of the terrain, often and often some member more accustomed to tread the concrete walks of some metropolitan city 'bagged' another in his unpremeditated and undignified descent to the nether regions when a handhold or tuft of grass came loose. Notwithstanding, we surmounted on the fifth day from Rhamani a highly serrated ridge that had blocked the view beyond. The ledges, the overhangs and the slabs behind us were a school-playground compared with this piece de resistance of the gorge, an all but impossible chimney of crumbly rock being the only route up it. Tilman christened this Pisgah, for from atop this one gets the first clear glimpse of the Promised Land of the Sanctuary; spread out beneath it in pleasing contrast to the tortuous surroundings, with the imposing summit of Nanda Devi rising gracefully above the mantle of cloud from its centre.

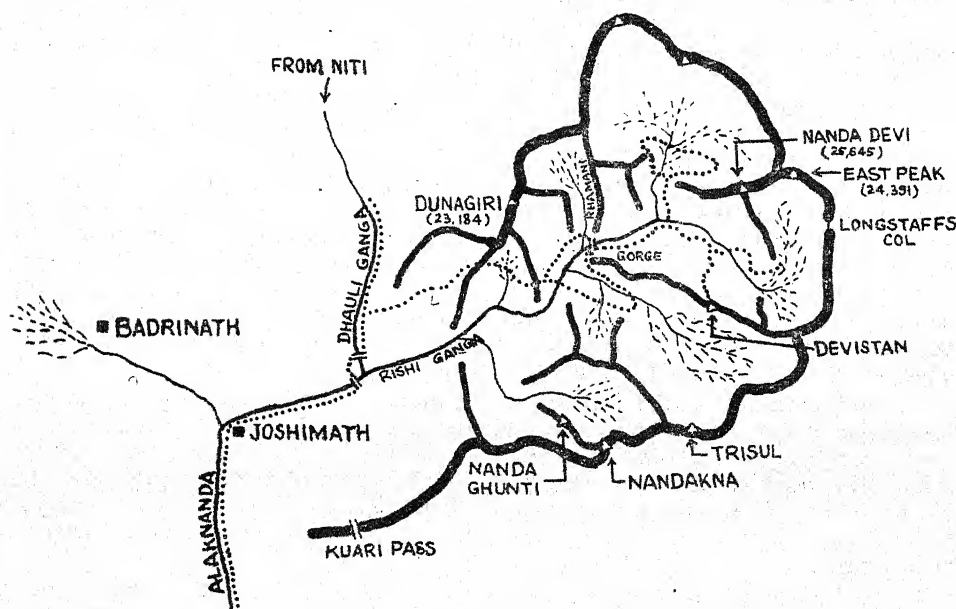
Even the porters, ever on the lookout for an excuse to light their 'chillums' forgot tobacco in the spectacle ahead. That night we heard the New World Symphony from B.B.C. over our Transistor receiver.

Whatever their predilections, mountaineering to most contemporary enthusiasts is essentially a sanctuary of the mind. Where more sedentary individuals find solace in the intricacies of Bridge or Chess, Cricket or Philosophy, a mountaineer finds memories of past climbs and moments of glowing happiness on some remote snow-slope an ideal retreat into which he can delve at leisure and find lasting contentment. Few of the unfortunate human race, torn between conflicting emotions and passing fancies and loyalties in a fast changing set of values, find such an eternal and concrete embodiment to their generally vague and impalpable ideals. This is the great charm of mountains and those who follow their love of them.

The area surrounding Nanda Devi is the apotheosis of all sanctuaries, for, though Everest is higher and Nanga Parbat more difficult, they are not situated in the hallowed-ground of religion, history and mythology which is Garhwal, and neither compares in beauty of form or splendour of contour with the Blessed Goddess.

It is a big mountain, with many moods and aspects; on three sides it is

lapped by the glaciers and torrents of the Rishiganga, while on the fourth a high and sharp-foot ridge connects it with East Nanda Devi, situated on the eastern rim of the Sanctuary. It was the aim of the illfated French climbers in 1951 to climb Nanda Devi and traverse along this sharp ridge to the East Summit; their end is shrouded in mystery. On the North are the three glaciers which give rise to the Uttari (Northern) Rishi and on the South two glaciers from which gushes the Dakhini (Southern) Rishiganga, while ice-falls and more glaciers buttress and girdle the entire rim. The famed meadowland is a days walking from Pisgah, to the west of the mountain and separated from it by the Dakhini Rishi. Here we camped on the lush, rolling downs then just breaking into spring luxuriance. Relaxing outside



the tents under a full moon with our Transistor offering Beethoven's Ninth, the awe and majesty of the towering mountain melted and diffused into mellow friendliness; the scene was the very epitome of peace and harmony.

Not presuming to climb the mountain but merely to reconnoitre all approaches for another season, we made the alpine camp our base, making sorties to view the south-western ridge by which the mountain was climbed; to ascertain that the north-western ridge which looked feasible was actually rendered impossible by the thousand-foot rock-wall: even to make a slipshod attempt to climb Devistan I, a 22,000-foot mountain on the western rim, where the short, early break-through of the monsoons sent us scurrying back from near 20,000 feet, a thousand million tiny snowflakes chasing-us in parting threat.

There is no end to the variety of human approaches to the mountains in general, though the approaches to Nanda Devi are few. The pursuit of some eternal truth or mythological, all-powerful deity which dwells for preference in the high hills of Himachal impels the sage and the pilgrim, while rare herbs or wild scenery may attract others, but even among the mountaineers who climb for 'joy and delectation', there is no common purpose or identical view, unless they climb for a foolish and transient glory.

So it was with us as we entered upon the threshold of our pilgrimage. One member found fulfilment in photographing flowers which grew in profusion, another wished to spend a glorious week chasing the Burrhel of the Uttari Rishi or explor-

ing the ridges of Nanda Devi, while yet others found the Memoirs of Eden or the comforts of base camp most attractive. We decided to attempt Devistan jointly before dispersing to go our various ways.

It is not easy to communicate the thrill of planning a climb, even if the mountain be modest, for in the intricacies of altitudes, camps and administrative detail, one loses the living element of adventure and freedom. Camps I, II, and III established at 16,500, 18,000 and 19,500 feet might mean nothing to those who read of it, but the versatile stimulation of existing under environment in such contrast to one's normal habitations, of climbing in the gradually rarifying air amid scenes of increasing grandeur and enchantment, the fascination of kicking steps up steep snow slopes, of windy rifts where 'baffling mountain eddies chop and change', of dodging, jumping and, not infrequently, falling into crevasses; these experiences are incommunicable and must be lived through to be appreciated.

Devistan is a relatively easy mountain and we were confident of a successful ascent when our Transistor gave us Beethoven's Fate symphony at Camp II. But a bivouac at 19,500 feet, while the monsoon-force blizzard tore and lashed at the tents in icy frenzy was our share for the whole of next night. Morning found our tents under fresh, unseasonal snow, while the wind chased us down to Camp II to await abatement in the weather. More nights in camp, more gallons of tea and chocolate, of desultory and rambling conversation with garrulous or taciturn tent-mates, of oaths and promises against future follies of the sort that had precipitated us under such circumstances with such, as it seemed then, unworthy bed-fellows; these and other memories of uncomfortable tent-life make retreat easier, but cannot wipe out the sense of mild defeat that follows it.

But there are always more days are more mountains, flowers and flowing water, Burrhel and Snow Cock, and their thoughts impelled us to hasten down in the gathering mists and swirling snow, with visibility reduced to less than a rope-length. The safety of base camp was reached even as an avalanche of fresh snow and old ice broke off from the western face of Nanda Devi, was ground to fine powder and wafted over to us by its own breeze across the intervening valley, a distance of five miles.

Followed days of glorious freedom and unalloyed happiness, unblemished by thoughts or recollections of any other life or circumstance, with each member following his inclinations, whether it led to more cliffing after Burrhel, or to the refind fragrance of Moorcroft's Primulas. The valley of the Uttari Rishi is open and sunny, and thither we repaired for a few days, seeing fresh tracks of Snow Leopard and bringing down two male Burrhel after strenuous stalking to replenish or diminished supplies to feed the porters and ourselves.

It would be pleasant to detail the reconnaissance trips and stalks we undertook, the peaks and ridges we climbed and the views we saw, but it is not these prosaic facts which are the lodestone that draws devotees who climb for reasons other than glory or prestige; and to dwell upon the delights of camp-fires and flowers, glaciers and pastures, or beloved sights and sounds would be condemned as a repetition of platitudes.

It is sufficient that we tarried a fortnight in our sanctuary. More, when we came away, we brought it with us. Only there are many sanctuaries now, not just one. Ask any of the members, or even the unread, hardy and carefree porters who accompanied us for the wages we gave them. They will all show, willy-nilly, a sanctuary in their hearts, ever a refuge to take shelter from the 'stormy blast' in a magnet to draw each one back to the mountains again and again, till the limbs lose their youth or the mind its imagination.

THE DOMESTIC SCENE

CRITERION

THE passing away of Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant on, 7 March, 1961 came as a serious blow to the entire nation. A great parliamentarian, an able administrator, a liberal politician and an outstanding freedom fighter, the late Pandit Pant had been a pillar of strength to the Government at a crucial period of the country's history. Of particular importance was the role he played in the Congress party as the arbiter of inner-party disputes, in the Government as aide of the Prime Minister and in the country's overall politics as the grand old liberal. His remarkable struggle for life after the attack of cerebral thrombosis (which occurred on 20 February) was symbolic of the departed leader's tenacity and indomitable zeal for serving the motherland to which cause he had dedicated his life. As the Prime Minister said, there was after his death a void in national life which could not be filled. This great national loss provided a sombre back drop to the various domestic developments during the period under review.

THE CENTRAL BUDGET 1961-62

The Budget for 1961-62 was being looked forward to with more than usual interest because of the fact that it would be the first budget of the third plan period, and, as such, might indicate the shape of things to come in the next five years in the sphere of plan financing in the country. The Finance Minister, however, had another important consideration to take note of: the party in power is scheduled to face the electorate in a year's time and the budget might well become an election issue!

The main features of the budget are illustrated in the table below:—

SUMMARY OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE

REVENUE

Heads of Revenue	1959-60 Accounts	1960-61 Budget	1960-61 Revised	1961-62 Budget
Customs	1,56,11	1,62,50	1,63,00	(1,64,00 + 29,27*
Union Excise Duties ...	3,60,65	3,79,61	3,94,98	4,06,24 + 28,60
Corporation Tax ...	1,06,56	1,35,00	1,37,50	1,40,00 + 1,00
Taxes on Income ...	1,48,85	1,05,00	1,27,50	1,31,00 + 2,00
Estate Duty ...	2,91	3,00	3,00	3,00
Taxes on Wealth ...	12,11	7,00	7,50	7,00
Taxes on Railway Fares ...	12,81	12,77	13,67	—
Expenditure Tax ...	79	90	90	80
Gift Tax ...	80	80	0	80
Opium ...	4,19	5,69	5,82	6,25
Interest ...	7,99	15,71	14,87	13,84
Administrative Services ...	85	84	99	97
Social and Development Services ...	48,24	52,35	51,46	47,00
Currency and Mint ...	52,79	57,22	57,85	60,63
Civil Works, etc. ...	3,22	3,04	3,38	3,75
Other Sources of Revenues ...	35,95	39,73	38,66	39,28
Posts & Telegraphs (Net Contribution)	5,13	47	46	77
Railways (Net Contribution) ...	5,63	5,64	5,06	21,29
Deduct-Share of Income Tax payable to States ...	79,32	52,06	86,98	80,79
Deduct-Share of Estate Duty payable to States ...	2,76	2,90	2,91	2,91
Deduct-Share of Taxes on Railway fares payable to States ...	13,07	12,66	13,79	—
Total Revenue ...	8,70,43	9,19,65	9,23,72	9,62,92 + 60,87
Deficit on Revenue Account ...	—	60,70	33,66	—
Total ...	8,70,43	9,80,35	9,57,38	10,23,79

EXPENDITURE
(In lakhs of rupees)

	1959-60 Accounts	1960-61 Budget	1960-61 Revised	1961-62 Budget
Collection of Taxes and Duties ...	1,02,89	1,07,33	1,07,30	30,46
Irrigation ...	12	17	13	15
Debt Services ...	69,38	74,59	72,35	81,90
Administrative Services ...	52,06	60,59	61,53	58,37
Social and Developmental Services ...	1,73,97	2,07,17	1,98,52	1,73,46
Currency and Mint ...	9,97	10,27	10,87	11,96
Civil Works, etc. ...	15,56	20,32	21,59	21,73
Miscellaneous ...	1,03,60	1,42,09	1,37,68	64,44
Defence Services (net) ...	2,30,86	2,72,26	2,66,72	2,82,92
Contribution and Miscellaneous Ad-justments ...	49,94	51,81	51,87	2,87,26
Extraordinary Items ...	20,73	33,75	28,82	10,87
Total Expenditure ...	8,27,88	9,80,35	9,57,38	10,23,52
Surplus Revenue Account ...	42,55	—	—	27
Total ...	8,70,43	9,80,35	9,57,38	10,23,79

Effect of new taxation proposals.

Source:—"Explanatory Memorandum": General Budget 1961-62 P 8-9.

The additional taxation to the extent of Rs. 60.87 crores would be raised as follows:

Increase in Customs duty	29.27 crores
Increase in Excise duty	28.26 crores
Direct taxes	3 crores

Some of the items on which the customs duty was raised in the budget were as follows: Betelnuts (57 lakhs); unmanufactured tobacco (89 lakhs); Certain textile manufactures (68 lakhs); Wines and spirits (25 lakhs); Paper and newsprints (38 lakhs); As against these increases the export duty on tea would be reduced from 53 nP. per kg. to 44 nP. per kg., meaning a loss to the exchequer of about Rs. 2 crores.

Under Excise duties the yield from new levies would be as follows: Additional excise duty on tea would yield 1.98 crores and on coffee would raise 38 lakhs. Tobacco, manufactured and unmanufactured would yield 40 lakhs and 2.18 crores respectively. Additional excise duty on Kerosene would yield Rs. 64.02 crores; Diesel Oil—1.33 crores; Matches—3 lakhs; Vegetable Products—80 lakhs; Cotton and Woollen yarn—5.55 crores; Silk fabrics—3 lakhs; and Rayon yarn—1.69 crores.

The Finance Minister was aware that the taxation measures he proposed would mean additional burdens on the people. But, he said, 'I would have failed in my duty if, on the threshold of the third plan, I had called for a smaller effort'.

Presenting the budget the Finance Minister said: "We have chosen for ourselves certain social and economic goals. We must do our utmost to achieve them. This will mean hard work and sacrifices for some time to come. But there is the promise of a rich reward in the shape of higher standard of living, more employment opportunities and a better socio-economic system. The task we have undertaken is of great moment for the future of the country. We dare not falter at this critical stage."

A considerable part of the budget speech was devoted to analysing the result of the first decade of planning in India. Industrial production had gone up during this

period by 66 per cent; agricultural by 33 per cent. Of special importance was the addition to the country's steel potential. Engineering and chemical industries had considerably grown and the base for rapid progress had been laid through the strengthening of such basic services and amenities as fuel, power, transport, and irrigation.

Commenting on the Budget the *Hindustan Times* wrote on 1 March: "The Central Budget for 1961-62, the first year of the third plan . . . cannot be a popular budget since it picks every body's pocket. It will nevertheless be appreciated widely in the country as a sincere and serious attempt at fulfilling the obligations of the bigger five-year plan on which the government and the people are now embarked." The weekly *LINK* wrote: "The Finance Minister being a very experienced Indian leader knew that the people could be trusted to accept a considerably greater degree of austerity if necessary as long as their hope of an eventual socialist order was not destroyed. But his budget proved that he could not place, and was not placing, the same faith in the rich".

ECONOMIC SURVEY

Along with his Budget the Finance Minister presented to the Parliament an "Economic Survey" for the year, as has been the practice for the last few years. Describing the outlook for industrial and agricultural production as encouraging, the survey for the year went on to state in details some of these encouraging trends. The rice crop for the year 1960-61 would be about 31 million tons, thus recording an increase of about 2 million tons over the last year's output. The level of foodgrains production would be around 76 million tons: the Government has with it at the moment a stock of 2.8 million tons of foodgrains and further imports on a substantial scale are expected. This easing of the food situation should largely help the stabilisation of food prices which is vital for holding the price line as a whole. It can be noted here that the proper financing of the plan through such methods as deficit financing to a large extent depends on the capacity to keep the prices of essential commodities like food stabilised. In regard to two important agricultural products—jute and oilseeds—however, the outlook is not so hopeful.

As regards industrial production, the Survey noted that both in the public and the private sector projects under completion came into production. This was expected to considerably ease the supplies position of several vital goods. Among the items which are expected to record a considerable improvement in production were: iron and steel; cement; coal; textiles; paper; sugar; chemicals; and electricity. The larger supply of iron and steel would help the production of engineering goods and industrial machinery. Altogether a high rate of industrial growth might be expected.

The crucial question in the matter, however, is posed by the rate of population growth; with the current trends in population growth a two per cent increase in output would be required merely to keep per capita income constant. In any case the pressure of demands, both for consumption and investment, would be larger.

The survey also noted that the level of public investment envisaged for the coming year is 6 to 7 per cent higher than in the outgoing. Some rise in public investment is also likely. The survey specially stressed the need to step up exports; but this would mean an additional demand on the national output.

The "Economic Survey" drew attention to some long term trends in Indian public finance. During the second plan period the Central and State Governments raised additional taxes to the tune of Rs. 1,041 crores. The Central share of this sum was as much as 797 crores and the States together raised only 244 crores. The revenues of the Central and the State Governments during the plan period rose by about 14 per cent; in 1955-56, they had a total revenue of 768 crores and the figure had gone up to 1,300 crores in

1960-61. The increase was only to a very small extent due to additional tax efforts and the major increase was on account of additional revenues accruing from rise in prices and increase in production. The percentage of total tax receipts to national income rose only by about 1 per cent from 8 per cent in 1955-56 to 9 per cent in 1960-61. From this the survey concluded: "This illustrates how difficult it is, in a country with a preponderance of low incomes, to draw a growing proportion of national income into the public exchequer".

The "Economic Survey" also gave a broad review of the balance of payments position; the second plan was likely to end with a payments deficit of about Rs. 2,100 crores. About a third of this was financed by net withdrawals from foreign exchange reserves and by purchases from the IMF; the rest would come from external assistance. The total authorisation of external assistance during the second plan period would be to the extent of Rs. 1,066 crores. During the third plan period an authorisation of 630 crores has already been secured under the PL 480 agreement of May 1960 and an amount of 422 crores has been authorised from other sources.

STATE BUDGETS

Some of the State Budgets for the year 1961-62 revealed wide deficits; the proposals for new taxation, however, were few, although the States were embarking on the third plan this year. A few State Budgets are reviewed below:

PUNJAB: A deficit of only Rs. 90 lakhs was revealed in the budget estimates of Punjab for the forthcoming year when Dr. Gopichand Bhargava placed before the Assembly his statement on the State's finances. As against the estimated revenue of Rs. 63.77 crores the expenditure would be of the order of Rs. 64.73 crores. The deficit would increase further by about 37 lakhs when, as proposed, a part of the land revenue is transferred to the village Panchayats of the State. Punjab, unlike many other States, however, would have new taxes: the sales tax in the State would be raised from 4 to 5 per cent and the entertainment duty would go up by 6 nP. per Rupee. This would yield a sum of Rs. 1.31 crores in all. New expenditure items would include Rs. 13 lakhs towards free and compulsory education. An increase of Rs. 5 in the Dearness Allowance was being sanctioned to the low paid employees of the State. While the additional tax burden would fall almost wholly on the urban population of the State, the most important benefit in the new scheme of things would be of the village panchayats.

WEST BENGAL: The West Bengal budget for the year revealed a deficit of Rs. 8.91 crores. There would be no fresh taxation, however, to bridge this great gap and apparently West Bengal would like the centre to bear a share of the increasing developmental expenditure of the State.

The Chief Minister of the State who also holds the Finance portfolio, made certain important suggestions while presenting the State Budget which revealed a trend of thinking in some of the relatively developed States of India regarding State finances. Dr. B. C. Roy said inter alia: 'Diversion of resources from the naturally favourable areas by artificial means to others less favourable is fraught with the risk of reducing the total output delaying production and increasing the cost of production'. He also appealed for greater justice from the Finance Commission which appeared to him to be making a mechanical assessment of needs totally devoid of any realisation of the needs of the various States based on an understanding of their requirements. Dr. Roy also suggested a redistribution of revenue between the Centre and the States; the Finance Commission, according to him, should examine the actual needs of the Centre from the view point of the functions it is required to perform under the constitution and to treat the balance of Central Revenue as a surplus to be distributed among the States of India:

'It would lead to more effective utilisation of the limited resources if these funds were spent by the States directly'.

ANDHRA: The estimated revenue and expenditure of Andhra Pradesh for the year 1961-62 have been put by Finance Minister Brahmananda Reddy at Rs. 85.13 crores and Rs. 87.63 crores respectively, thus revealing a deficit of about Rs. 4 crores. The revenue receipts figures are surprisingly less than the previous year's, by about Rs. 3 crores. As in the last year's budget there is no proposal for fresh taxation this year. A feature of the budget is the allocation of a token sum of Rs. 3 lakhs for the payment of old age pensions to destitute persons of 70 and above who have no other means of livelihood. The problems of Andhra's plan, however, remain unsolved as the gap between total plan allocations and the possible resources would be at least Rs. 38 crores in the five years. As usual, Andhra had a grievance against the centre. The State had not been chosen for location of central projects on any adequate scale and outlay on centrally sponsored projects was among the lowest in Andhra.

MADRAS: In Madras also no attempt was made by the Finance Minister to cover the deficit of Rs. 3 crores. Although the budget speech contained several pronouncements of interest to the people of the State (the State would hereafter be called "Tamizh Nadu" in Tamil and there would be free education upto the eleventh standard for children of the low income groups) the financial position of the State vis-a-vis the requirements of the third plan were not painted as very hopeful. The only promise was that the State would float new loans and that it hoped to borrow adequately to pay for the plan.

KASHMIR: The State of Jammu and Kashmir has the distinction of having a revenue surplus to the extent of Rs. 3.36 crores. Revenue would be of the order of Rs. 14.53 crores, but various central grants in aid would raise the figure to Rs. 17.18 crores. Expenditure would be about Rs. 13.82 crores. While revenue under most heads has remained static that under Forests has risen phenomenally; among the new burdens of expenditure mention must be made of the fact that Kashmir would hereafter bear the burden of subsidy to rice price in the State.

One of the features of the finances of the State is the extent of aid it receives from the centre. While in 1959-60 the State was receiving central assistance to the extent of Rs. 314.5 as grants in aid, the figure for the current year would be Rs. 60.7 crores. A breakdown of the revenue figures of Rs. 23.75 crores shows that the central contribution is of the order of about 50 per cent.

MADHYA PRADESH: One of the few States to levy new tax burden this year is Madhya Pradesh. The total revenue receipts are of the order of Rs. 73.79 crores and the total expenditure would be about Rs. 80.26 crores, thus leaving a deficit of Rs. 6.47 crores. The State is committed to raise through additional taxation a sum of Rs. 48 crores during the third plan period and the Finance Minister indicated that they would keep it up. Of 48 crores to be raised in the five years, however, there would be only three crores raised during the first.

We have given an account of some of the Indian State Budgets for the year which was marked by two different compulsions pulling in two different directions: in the first place in the pre-election year the State Governments are not expected to levy unpopular tax measures and secondly in the first year of the third plan the States are expected to make a start in regard to mobilisation of the internal resources for financing the plan. What might have also influenced the budgeting of the States is that they have a stake in proving that their finances are in a bad way so that the maximum effect could be produced on the Finance Commission which is shortly to recommend a basis of allocation of resources to the Centre and the States.

CENSUS FIGURES

An unexpectedly high rate of population growth in India was revealed in the provisional figures released by the Home Minister at a press conference in Delhi on 27 March. While the final figures of the Census, which was held in February, would be ready only by the end of 1963, the provisional figures put India's total population at 438 million. The exact figure given for India excluding areas like Manipur, NEFA, Sikkim and Nagaland was 436,424,429. This meant an advance of about 21.49% in a decade; our population was 359 million in 1951. In the previous decade the population rose by only 13.3%. In fifty years the population of India had risen by 50%, from 250 to 438 million. One of the important aspects of the Census results was that for every 1,000 males in India there were only 940 women.

The population increase was the highest in Eastern India: in Assam the increase was of the order of 34.3% and in West Bengal 32.94%. The influx of refugees from Pakistan was obviously one of the contributory causes. The literacy figure had gone up considerably; from 16.6% in 1951 to 23.7% this year. If the age group 0-4 was left out, the literacy figures would be quite high. The estimate of population was higher by about seven million as compared with the Planning Commission's expectations. But the Union Home Minister said he was unperturbed and confident that the Commission would be able to deal with the situation.

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

The review of policies by the President as contained every year in his address to the Parliament focussed attention this year on issues like the India-China border question, Congo, Laos, Disarmament, the third plan and Panchayatiraj. Some of the important points of the address were as follows:

(i) **General Assessment:** 'The year we have left behind has been one of considerable stress and strain both externally and internally. . . Though many and stubborn problems still await solution or are in the process of being solved the situation both at home and abroad shows signs of improvement and justifies hope and cautious optimism';

(ii) **China:** While China's intransigence continues, there is a more adequate arrangement of defence of India and greater international awareness of the correctness of the Indian case.

(iii) **Congo:** India believed in 'the withdrawal of Belgians' the release of political personalities and more particularly those who have parliamentary immunities, the neutralisation of factional forces and armed groups, and the summoning of parliament and the restoration of constitutional authority'.

(iv) **Goa:** India stands committed to the liberation of Goa.

(v) **Disarmament:** India has persevered on every occasion to assist to formulate a basis of agreement among nations, more particularly among the Great Powers, in this regard. War must be outlawed as an instrument of settling disputes between countries.

(vi) **Third Plan:** The outline of the third plan is ready and as soon as it receives the final approval of the National Development Council it would be placed before the Parliament.

(vii) **Economy:** The outlook both in agriculture and industry is definitely promising.

(viii) **Panchayats:** Before the end of 1961 Panchayatiraj institutions would be introduced in all the States.

(ix) **Atomic Energy:** The prospects of utilising atomic energy for industrial and medical purposes have advanced.

(x) **Aims of Policy:** "My Government will constantly endeavour to initiate and promote efforts and schemes to shorten the time between their decisions on policies and the implementation thereof. It will seek to enable our democracy to share and participate at all levels in the great economic and social developments that must progress if we are to survive as an independent nation, with dignity and a sense of fruitful function. The unity and the social well-being of our entire people, the rapid progress to a democratic and a socialist society, wherein changes must be timely and progress grow from more to more, must be attained peacefully and by consent."

THE CONGRESS SESSION

The 66th Session of the Indian National Congress which met at Sardarnagar, Bhavnagar, in the first week of January adopted resolutions on the international situation, national integration, the draft third plan and the election manifesto of the Congress. The forthcoming Election manifesto of the Congress would, according to the resolution on the subject, highlight the tasks before the nation, particularly those of national integration, the third five year plan, communal unity and steps towards a Socialist society. The resolution on the Plan emphasised that efforts should be made during the third plan to make a substantial advance towards a 'self-sustaining self-generating economy'. The resolution on national integration drew attention to the communal and linguistic separatism in the country and wanted a relentless struggle to be waged against such forces. On the international situation, the Congress blamed intervention by Big Powers for the increased tensions in Asia and Africa. It had Laos and Congo in mind.

The main subject of discussion at the conference was the organisational state of the Congress to which the General Secretaries had drawn attention in their report. They had warned the Congressmen against the 'unhappy development' of formation of rigid groups centering round personalities with the aim of capturing power by group pressures. While the General Secretaries regarded the formation of ideological groupings as 'not unnatural', this form of group politics was considered a matter of concern.

A feature of the Presidential address was the call by Mr. Sanjiva Reddy for fixing a ten year limit to holding office for Congressmen. He also made the suggestion that the Zonal Councils should be invested with more powers in order to check the growing fissiparous tendencies. A third suggestion which was made by the Party Chief was that a system of indirect elections should be considered, in view of the cost of elections. Today, 'an honest and selfless man is not in a position to contest unless he is subsidised by the party'.

HOPE IN PUNJAB

The outlook in Punjab changed considerably for the better during the period under review when following the Prime Minister's appeal the Akalis withdrew their agitation and decided to negotiate with the Prime Minister a basis for fulfilling the hard core of their demands. The Government of Punjab reciprocated the Akali gesture by granting amnesty to Akali prisoners. The Akali leader Sant Fateh Singh met the Prime Minister and while there was no agreement of views between them they decided to meet again in order to thrash out their differences. In the Akali party itself the position of Master Tara Singh became somewhat uncertain during this period as a large number of the Akalis challenged his handling of the Punjabi Suba agitation. The Sant was emerging as the new Akali leader.

ORISSA UNDER PRESIDENT'S RULE

The Congress party unit in Orissa decided to scrap its coalition with the Ganatantra Parishad and resign from the Government in order to have a fresh election in the State in mid-1961. The resignation of Chief Minister Mahtab, however, was not so much his

own decision as it was the result of the victory of the anti-coalitionists in the Pradesh Congress election, which brought Shri B. Patnaik to power. Ever since the formation of the coalition a section of the local Congressmen had been unhappy about it; it is only after the change at the P.C.C. level that the Party High Command decided to permit the dissolution of the coalition. The resignation of the Mahtab ministry was followed by the imposition of Section 93, under which the President took over the State administration. The Parliament, however, decided to hold a General Election in the State as desired by the State unit of the Congress. The opposition parties in the Parliament would have liked the election to take place along with the General Election in the country; the Congress view, however, prevailed in the Parliament and the State is to go to the polls in the first week of June. A later date would have meant the onset of monsoon in the State and consequent difficulties in transport.

One of the developments in State politics which needs to be mentioned here is the demise of Srikrishna Sinha at Patna. Shri Sinha was the unchallenged leader of the Assembly Congress party in Bihar and had indeed held the office of the Chief Minister since 1937. The successor to Sinha is Shri Binodanand Jha.

JABALPORE RIOTS

While the period under review was relatively free from outbursts of linguistic agitations (except in Vidarbha) another and a more outdated form of fissiparous tendency raised its head in the form of communal riots. An alleged crime committed by a member of the minority community was the apparent provocation for a large scale communal strife which necessitated the imposition of curfew in the city. The casualties were not as important as the fact that it proved the existence of latent communal tendencies in some sections of the people. The Congress Working Committee was particularly distressed and concerned at the developments. Meeting in New Delhi on 19th February the Committee passed a resolution which said 'inter alia': "It is a symptom of a disease which has to be controlled with all the strength of the nation as no edifice or unity, freedom and progress can be built up if this disease is allowed to continue. Every effort should, therefore, be made not only to deal with such manifestations with vigour, but to root out the causes which lead to them."

THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE

By MAHENDRA KUMAR

NINETEEN sixty-one began in an atmosphere of international tension giving rise to a number of problems. Most of them have been the legacy of the past year. The Laotian crisis, the Congo problem, and the Commonwealth Conference dominated the international scene during the quarter under review. The situation in Laos grew worse due to intermittent resumptions of fightings inviting attention of the world and efforts were made by the great Powers of the world to correct the situation lest it should prove fatal to peace in Southeast Asia. The Congo problem touched new dimensions as a result of Mr. Lumumba's murder making remote any chances of the restoration of normalcy in the country. South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth marked another significant event of the quarter which, though it was a cause of rejoicing for all Afro-Asian nations who are opposed to the policy of racial discrimination, furnished a setback to the British Government. Another interesting feature of the quarter was a series of international conferences. Beside the Commonwealth Conference, there was Casablanca Conference, the ECAFE Conference, and SEATO Conference. Each of them was important in its own way. In Nepal the suppression of political activity continued with ever-increasing vehemence. The national movement for the independence of Angola gathered more vigorous momentum which also indirectly resulted in the Santa Maria incident. East-West relations on the whole remained at a standstill. Though no sign of any appreciable improvement was visible, yet the inauguration of Kennedy Administration in the United States and a consequent softening in the Soviet attitude towards the United States engendered hope that the two power blocs may in due course come a little closer. The Indian and Chinese Officials' report on the Sino-Indian border issue which was released by the Government of India during the quarter revealed the hollowness of the Chinese case and thus the labours spent on patching up the differences in the two countries' viewpoints went a waste once more.

SINO-INDIAN OFFICIALS' REPORT ON BORDER ISSUE

The report of the talks between Indian and Chinese officials held in Peking, New Delhi and Rangoon in 1960 was presented to both Houses of Indian Parliament on 14 February. It will be recalled that in accordance with the provision of the joint communique issued after the conclusion of Nehru-Chou deliberations on the border problem in April last year the Indian and Chinese Officials' teams started in June a joint study of all the evidence on which each side relied in support of its stand.

This report is in the nature of a collection of two statements, one of the Indian side running into 342 printed pages and an unofficial English translation of the Chinese version running into 213 pages. It is a document of utmost importance and establishes beyond doubt that the true traditional boundary between India and China is that shown by India and that the Chinese are in unlawful occupation of 12,000 square miles of Indian territory.

During the discussions both Indian and Chinese sides provided evidence in support of their viewpoints. But while the Indian evidence was precise and clear, the Chinese evidence was scanty and imprecise and inconsistent with facts. The description of the traditional Indian alignment was based upon vast details whereas the description provided by the Chinese side was vague and too general. The Indian side supplied appropriate answers to all the questions put by the Chinese side but the latter was able to answer only a few of those put by the former. The Indian side also demonstrated that the boundary shown in Indian maps followed the watershed principle which provides a natural dividing line between India and China.

Regarding the Western sector of the boundary, the evidence produced by the Indian side established that the border line between Ladakh and Tibet as shown by India is a traditionally delineated frontier at least from the tenth century. A large number of documents and unofficial maps of different countries including China were also produced by the Indian Officials' team. These confirmed that at least from the sixth century onwards the southern limits of Sinkiang did not lie south of the Kuen Lun ranges and that they reached up to these ranges only in the end of the nineteenth century. This goes a long way to establish that Aksai Chin Plateau and the Lingzi Tang plains were never a part of Chinese territory. These areas, in fact, had been utilised by the people of Ladakh and administered by the Governments of Ladakh and Kashmir. The Indian side produced a document which made it clear that police check posts had been maintained by the Government of Kashmir in the northern Aksai Chin area as far back as 1865. Revenue and assessment reports also cover all the areas now claimed by China. Trade routes in these areas were controlled by the Government of Kashmir so much so that in 1870 when the British Indian Government wanted to survey these areas, it had to secure the necessary permission of the Kashmir Government for the purpose.

The evidence advanced in support of Indian stand in the middle sector also was overwhelmingly superior to the Chinese evidence inasmuch as it was corroborated by a variety of data drawn from innumerable contemporary records and accounts of travellers and explorers testifying to the fact that Indian authorities had always exercised effective administration and civil jurisdiction in the area.

As regards the Eastern sector, a mass of evidence was cited by the Indian side to prove that Indian political authority had been continuously exercised in this sub-montane region. To prove India's stand on her entire northern boundary, the Indian officials' team cited a number of treaties, agreements, and official communications.

The Indian side replied to all the arguments put forward by the Chinese side challenging the validity of the McMahon Line which was delineated as a result of Simla Agreement of 1914 of which China was aware but never raised any objection. One significant document produced by the Indian side in this connection was a note of the Government of China of 1947 recognising the validity of Simla Agreement.

On the basis of maps as evidence also, the Indian evidence was much superior to that of the Chinese. For while Indian side cited a vast bulk of official and unofficial maps from foreign, Indian and Chinese sources in its support, the Chinese side was not able to produce even a single map published prior to 1950 in support of Chinese alignment.

The document which the Chinese side produced as a proof that Sinkiang had exercised administrative authority over the whole Aksai Chin area was very recent and, therefore, cannot be treated as a document of much historical evidence.

For Spiti, Nilang Jadhag and Barahoti the Chinese evidence was in the form of a monastic record of religious superintendence. In the Eastern sector there was only one document produced by the Chinese side but it only mentioned a stream in the Walong area. There was absolutely no evidence of any revenue collection, or of survey operations, or of administration of cultivated valleys.

Recent Chinese maps have exhibited a bewildering inconsistency in delineations of alignment. For instance, the delineation in Western sector shown in the map provided by the Chinese side at these meetings was very different from the one shown in the Chinese map of 1956 which Prime Minister Chou En-lai himself upheld as showing the correct boundary in this sector.

Again, the Chinese side affirmed that Ladakh had been a part of Tibet till the middle of the nineteenth century. This destroyed the Chinese contention that the alignment between Ladakh and Tibet had been ancient and traditional. The Chinese themselves had earlier brought forward an evidence to show that Ladakh had been independent of Tibet even in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Regarding the status of Tibet also the Chinese case presented a striking contradiction. On the one hand, the Chinese officials repeatedly affirmed that Tibet was always a part of and under the sovereign control of China and, therefore, it had no right of having direct dealings with foreign powers. But on the other hand, they also quoted disputes which showed Tibetan representatives holding negotiations to settle boundary differences. In the case of Nilang Jadhag, the Tibetan representatives even constituted an international commission without Chinese presence on or concurrence to it. Still more interesting is the fact that the Chinese side produced Tibetan documents in support of Tibetan claims in frontier areas even though they vehemently asserted that Tibet was never free to discuss boundary matters with its neighbours or conclude boundary agreements with them. No less amusing was the inconsistency inherent in the Chinese Officials' attitude towards the British sources. Although they tried to dismiss all the evidence furnished by India as meaningless on the ground that it came from British sources and represented the ambitions of British imperialism, yet they failed to bring forward any evidence from official records to show that the British had deliberately pushed forward the traditional boundaries. Further, the Chinese side itself tried to seek support from the British official and non-official records.

The attitude of the Chinese side towards the State of Jammu & Kashmir which is a part of India and towards India's special relations with Sikkim and Bhutan was most surprising. The Chinese side refused to discuss questions relating to the boundary of Kashmir State west of the Karakoram Pass and to the northern boundaries of Sikkim and Bhutan. This is tantamount to challenging the legality of the accession of the State of Jammu & Kashmir to India. The Indian side categorically pointed out that Kashmir was a part of India and that the Government of India had special responsibility for the external affairs to Sikkim and Bhutan. It may be recalled that as late as April 1960 China recognised India's treaty relations with these Himalayan Kingdoms of Sikkim and Bhutan. But now China has gone back on Mr. Chou En-lai's own words: "China respects India's relations with Bhutan and Sikkim". These are the words which he uttered in his press conference in New Delhi on 25 April 1960.

How the Chinese have again and again been going back on their own words, saying one thing at one time and contradicting it at another in the past about two years was also clearly explained by the Indian side. This has been referred to in the first instalment of 'International Scene' of the year 1960 and need not be rehearsed here.

Thus the Report of the Officials of India and China on the Boundary Question confirms that the Indian case is immeasurably stronger because, beside everything else, it found support in the evidence volunteered by the Chinese side and in the past and present Chinese State practice. As against the Chinese evidence, the evidence supplied by the Indian side was more consistent in fact and argument. There was also a quantitative difference. The items of evidence produced by the Indian side were 630 whereas the number of items from the Chinese side was only 245. On the whole, the Chinese evidence was meagre and inconclusive in content; it also suffered from certain fundamental irrelevances and contradictions. Thus the meetings of the Chinese and Indian officials have failed to bring any agreement between the viewpoints of the two countries. Rather the gulf has widened still further. These meetings have only proved that the preponderance of evidence fully establishes that about 2,400 mile-long traditional northern boundary of India has been defined by nature, confirmed by history and sanctified by

international law. That is why the Indian side was categorical in its refusal to agree to the Chinese proposal to conclude a border agreement on the lines of the border agreements concluded by China with Nepal and Burma. That would mean the acceptance on the part of India of the "present actualities" thesis advocated by Mr. Chou En-lai during his talks with Prime Minister Nehru in April last year. And this would in substance mean the acceptance of the principle of China that the Sino-Indian frontier has never been formally delimited and should, therefore, be done so now. This is what India can never accept. In short, the results of the talks between the Indian and the Chinese Officials only have revealed a "sordid story of calculated deceptions of Chinese Communists" and exposed the "diplomatic duplicity" which the Chinese have been playing with our country for about a decade.

LAOS

On 1 January the Left-wing forces in Laos opened artillery fire on Luang Prabang. During the second half of January the forces of Prince Boun Oum's Government attempted to carry out a triple offence—one column advancing north of Pakasane towards Xieng Khouang and two others drawing north from Vientiane and south from Luang Prabang against Captain Kong Lee's troops in the plains of Jar. The fighting between the two sides continued and it was reported that by the end of January half of the 28,000 men in the Royal Army were either supporting Kong Lee or were outside effective government control. On 31 January three members of Prince Souvanna Phouma's former government formed a government at Xieng Khouang with M. Khamsouk Keola as acting Premier. It was announced by the Government that it derived its authority from instructions issued by Souvanna Phouma on 25 January and that he would soon return to Laos to resume his duties. It will be recalled that Prince Souvanna Phouma had been offered a Cabinet job in Boun Oum's government which he had refused a number of times in January. On 27 January another attempt to include Phouma in the government was made on the condition that he would cease to have any association with the Left-wing rebels and that he would agree to the formation of an all-party government for Laos.

On 3 February Prince Souvanna Phouma suggested that negotiations should take place between the three sections of the Laotian opinion—the neutralists, Pathet Lao, and the Pro-Americans—and that all foreign aid coming to Laos from any source should stop. He also suggested that there should be a plebiscite to decide whether or not Laotian people are in favour of neutralism. Simultaneously accusations and counter-accusations of intervention in Laotian affairs continued by the Soviet Union and the United States.

Thus the situation in Laos during the quarter became increasingly bad to worse. There were intermittent fightings between different forces. But the quarter is also responsible for a number of attempts made by great nations of the world including India, the United States, Soviet Union and the United Kingdom. On 20 February, the Soviet Ambassador to Washington, Mr. Menshikov, discussed the Laotian crisis with the new US Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Rusk, when the latter informed that the United States government was ready to withdraw its military advisers from Laos if a cease-fire could be arranged and if other military advisers helping the Pathet Lao were also withdrawn. Earlier on 19 February, King of Laos, Savang Vathana, had declared that Laos would pursue the policy of strict neutrality. He urged all countries to respect its independence and neutrality. During the last week of February, Prince Souvanna Phouma who had fled to Cambodia (Pnom-Penh) left the town and made an extensive tour of the Left-wing held areas of central Laos and had discussions with Prince Souphanouvong.

A delegation of Prince Boun Oum's government Ministers led by General Phoumi Nosavan reached Pnom-Penh on 9 March and had long talks with Prince Souvanna

Phouma. On 10 March a joint statement on the talks was issued which said that both parties had agreed that a policy of strict neutrality and a neutralisation of Laos by treaty were essential for the restoration of peace in the country. The statement also condemned foreign intervention in Laotian affairs. It was agreed that negotiations between the two parties should continue with a view to finding a formula for the formation of a coalition government. This agreement was welcome by the US State Department which expressed the hope that together with the King's declaration of 19 February the restoration of peace in Laos would now be possible. But the Neo Lao Haksat denounced it as oriented by Western imperialism. Pathet Lao hinted that the negotiations between Boun Oum and Prince Phouma will affect the legal position of Phouma's government which, according to the Communists, is the only legal government of Laos. On 14 March negotiation talks were resumed at Pnom-Penh on the problem of forming a neutral Laotian government to include Right-wing elements as well as the Pathet Lao. But the next day Prince Souvanna Phouma announced that the talks could not achieve any "adequate national reconciliation". The same day he left Pnom-Penh for a six week visit to Rangoon, Delhi, Cairo, Paris, London, Moscow and Peking. The total failure of negotiation talks at Pnom-Penh was announced in Vientiane on 17 March. Prince Souvanna Phouma's departure from Pnom-Penh was interpreted to have been prompted by a message from Prince Souphanouvong warning the former that any compromise with the Boun Oum government would not be acceptable to the Pathet Lao.

The second half of March is very important for a number of attempts were made to end the Laotian crisis. On 23 March, Great Britain, with US endorsement, appealed to the Soviet Union with a 3-stage plan for the solution of Laotian problem. In the first stage, the Soviet Union was to join in a joint appeal for a cease-fire. The second stage would be the renewal of the 1954 International Control Commission for Laos and at the third stage will be held an international conference on the substance of the Laos problem. Separate talks were also held between President Kennedy and Mr. Harold Macmillan, between Mr. Kennedy and Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Gromyko, and between Mr. Nehru and US Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Rusk. In all these talks, grave concern was felt with the worsening situation in Laos. But the Soviet Union declined to accept the British proposals in toto. Although she agreed to accept the broad lines of the British plan, yet she insisted that the first step must be a meeting of the International Commission for Laos. Thus Russia wants renewal of Laos body before cease-fire. In the British and American view, however, negotiations should follow and not precede cease-fire. Meanwhile, on 29 March the SEATO Ministerial Council warned that the organisation was ready to take all appropriate steps if Communist-aided military attempts to gain control of Laos continued. Thus events in Laos, both internal and external, affecting the Laotian situation are presenting new difficulties everyday. There is no doubt that the Laotian crisis demands an early restoration of peace in the country which will largely depend upon an agreement between the two power blocs over a solution of the problem. Efforts to bridge the gulf between them are afoot and it may be hoped that some solution of the problem acceptable to both would emerge before long.

CONGO

During the quarter under review the situation in the Congo further deteriorated. The most significant event which took place in the beginning of the year was the work of UN Conciliation Commission in the Congo. After ten days of talks in Leopoldville the Commission issued a communique on 17 January in which it was stated that the Commission would hold further consultations before starting the tour of Congo provinces. The Commission, headed by Jaja A. Wachuku of Nigeria met several Congolese leaders and organisers of political round-table talks and came to the conclusion that the Congolese leaders appeared to be weary with the prolonged crisis in their country and anxious to reach an early solution.

But civil war continued to take an ever-more serious turn. So much so that deposed Premier Mr. Patrice Lumumba was killed together with his two main companions. The exact date of this tragedy is not known for certain. But it is believed to be some time in the first half of February. It will be recalled that Mr. Lumumba had been locked up in Katanga Province's most secure prison where he suffered all sorts of severities including beating, kicking, and injurious bruises. He was so savagely beaten by the Congolese guards that his face was often bruised and swollen. Such a treatment was indeed scandalous and contrary to human rights. Mr. Lumumba died and the Katanga government was responsible for it. He died a martyr's death and the ideas which brought his martyrdom will flourish on his memory. This has also belied whatever hope of Mr. Tshombe of winning the recognition of independent African States. The conciliation meetings which were to take place just about the same time when Mr. Lumumba's murder was announced offered a pessimistic future even before they were actually held. His death came at a time when a new programme for the Congo had been thought of which had a good chance of acceptance by Afro-Asian countries.

In the later half of January, Mr. Kasavubu presented a programme for saving the Congo from anarchy, dismemberment and civil war. The programme which was submitted to a preliminary round-table conference of about 250 delegates from all parts but not all factions of the country sought to do away with the so-called main source of Congo's trouble, that is, "the highly centralised constitution inherited from a colonial past and used by ex-Premier Lumumba to impose his frenzied anti-Belgian dictatorship which produced mutiny in the army and secession by some provinces". This programme suggested a federal structure for the Congo. Though both Katanga and South Kasai appeared willing to return to the national fold, the pro-Lumumba forces were not enthusiastic about it.

On 25 January five hundred Congolese politicians met in Leopoldville to stipulate plans for a round-table conference. But in it there was a ghastly vacuum of Mr. Lumumba and Mr. Tshombe.

Meanwhile information was received that forces supporting Mr. Lumumba were again on the march from their stronghold in Eastern Province into the northern part of Equator Province. On 29 January Mr. Kasavubu made a request to the United Nations to disarm all troops in the Congo except those under Gen. Mobutu. On 30 January the tin-mining town of Monomo in North Katanga was bombed. On 7 February Mr. Tshombe of secessionist Katanga province warned UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld that an attempt to disarm Katanga's provincial forces would be considered a declaration of war and that in that case he would take "necessary measures." On 8 February Mr. Kasavubu proclaimed the end of the Congo's five-month-old military regime and named a Provisional Government composed of members of the suspended Parliament. Joseph Ileo was named Premier of the Provisional Government which took office at once. Justin Bomboko who was Chairman of the army-appointed governing commission became incharge of foreign affairs in the new government. It is significant to note that Gen. Mobutu, the Army Chief, was not a member of this government after the council of 28 Young Commissioners-General appointed by him last September was dissolved. President Kasavubu announced that the new Ileo government would be a transitional government.

On 22 February came another threat to the Congo when Mr. Tshombe of Katanga Province denounced United Nations plans for the Congo and ordered general mobilisation in his secessionist state. He also announced that he had invited Antoine Gizenga of Eastern Province and A. Kashamura of Kivu Province to attend talks at Geneva. Both of them are those who supported the late Mr. Lumumba. Mr. Tshombe declared that Katanga would take up arms against the United Nations forces if they tried to execute the Security Council resolution which called for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the Congo and the reorganisation of Congolese military forces.

On 28 February the Leopoldville government, Katanga and South Kasai formed a military alliance. The agreement was signed by Mr. Joseph Ileo, President Moise Tshombe, and Albert Kalonji, all anti-Lumumba leaders. On 2 March serious disturbances began and forty-four civilians were shot dead in Lulaburg by Mr. Mobutu's troops. The shooting continued for many hours and the situation could be under control only after Ghana troops of the United Nations intervened. On 3 March fighting broke out between UN Sudanese troops and Congolese forces at an important naval base of Banana, about 300 miles west of Leopoldville.

On 4 March was announced India's decision to send 3,000 combat troops to the Congo. On 9 March the Congolese government sent a telegram to Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld threatening to break off all relations with the United Nations if Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal, UN Special Representative in the Congo, was not withdrawn.

After an all-Congo political round-table conference held at Tananarive in Malagasy Republic an official communique was issued which said that the participants in the conference had agreed for the creation of a confederation of States in the ex-Belgian Congo with the present Congolese President, Mr. Joseph Kasavubu, as President of the Confederation. The conference decided to create a new governing body—the Council of State—and an executive body. It was also decided that the mission of the Provisional Government at Leopoldville would be wound up. The resolution adopted by the Conference gave each State its own militia and police and pledged it not to interfere in each other's affairs. The conference also asked the United Nations to annul the Security Council's latest resolution about Congo in view of this settlement. On 13 March, the Congolese Government held out an ultimatum to the United Nations to surrender Leopoldville airport by the noon of 15 March failing which it would recover the port by whatever means. Meanwhile the 11-nation UN Conciliation Commission for the Congo called on 13 March for a Congolese Summit Conference. The Commission also made three other proposals, firstly, that existing basic law was not suited to the Congo's present situation and should be revised, secondly, that the Congo should have a federal structure and not a confederation, and thirdly, that Congolese army should be reorganised and insulated from politics.

On 22 March the Katanga President, Mr. M. Tshombe declared that if Indian UN troops came to Katanga it would be taken as war against Katanga and Katanga would then go to war. He also declared that he and his people were friendly with the UN but the latter could be tolerated only if its operations continue to be on social and technical plan only. On 29 March it was reported that Albert Kalonji, President of South Kasai Province, had dismissed his Prime Minister, Mr. Joseph Ngulula. On the same date another significant event took place when a three-member PSA delegation was detained in Coquilhatville on its way to Stanleyville. This brought an abrupt end to the efforts by the African Solidarity Party led by Mr. Cleophas Kamitatu, President of the Leopoldville Provincial government, to effect a rapprochement between Mr. Kasavubu and Mr. Antoine Gizenga. Thus the rapid succession with which events are taking place in the Congo one after another, each important in itself, arouses serious misgivings about the early solution of the Congo crisis.

COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE

Hardly ten months after the conclusion of the last year's Commonwealth Conference another Commonwealth Conference was held from 8 to 17 March this year with a short break. This was the tenth conference of Commonwealth countries after World War II. The countries represented in the Conference were Australia, Canada, Ghana, Great Britain, India, Malaya, Pakistan, Rhodesia, New Zealand, Ceylon, and South Africa. Except Ghana and Pakistan which were represented by their respective Presidents, all the countries were represented by their Prime Ministers. Those who participated in the

Conference were Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru (India), Mr. Harold Macmillan (Great Britain), Mr. Nkrumah (Ghana), Mr. Diefenbaker (Canada), Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd (South Africa), Field-Marshal Ayub Khan (Pakistan), Sir Roy Welensky (Rhodesia), Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike (Ceylon), Mr. Robert Menzies (Australia), Mr. Tengku Abdul Rahman (Malaya), and Mr. Holyoake (New Zealand). As against last year's Commonwealth Conference in which the Prime Ministers of South Africa and Ceylon were represented by their nominated Ministers, this year's Commonwealth Conference was attended by all the Prime Ministers or Presidents.

Opening the conference, the British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Macmillan, reviewed the world situation with a detailed analysis of East-West tension. He said that the Commonwealth "has a foot in practically every camp in the world today" and hence it is in an advantageous position to act in a non-partisan way for the good of both the power blocs. Mr. Macmillan's opening speech was followed by a general discussion of different international problems.

The next two days of the conference, that is, 8 and 9 March were devoted to the discussion on disarmament. Although in general, the conference agreed that there should be a complete disarmament, both nuclear and conventional, by successive stages under effective international control, yet there was a sharp difference of opinion on how it should be achieved. On the whole, it was more or less agreed that all the Commonwealth Powers should endeavour in their own way for the promotion of this objective in their respective spheres. Thus the possibility of issuing some sort of a joint declaration on the question of disarmament did not come off. Nor could any effort be made to coordinate the views of Commonwealth countries in such a way that they could work as a harmonious team both inside and outside the United Nations for the resumption of disarmament negotiations. Mr. Macmillan, nevertheless, expressed the hope that the resumption of such negotiations would be possible before long.

After a two-day recess the Commonwealth Premiers reassembled on 13 March. On this day the island republic of Cyprus was admitted to the membership of the Commonwealth. It took the conference only a few minutes to give unanimous approval to Cyprus's entry. It may be said in passing that the application for Cyprus's membership of the Commonwealth was made in accordance with the majority decision of the Cyprus House of Representatives which decided that Cyprus should be in Commonwealth for a period of five years at the expiry of which it will again be the privilege of the House of Representatives to decide whether or not Cyprus should continue to be in the Commonwealth. Immediately after the decision to admit Cyprus a cable was sent to Cyprus President, Archbishop Makarios, who reached London on 14 March to participate in the remaining sessions of the Conference.

But the most important item which overshadowed all other items on the agenda was the question of retention of South Africa after it becomes a republic. The debate on this question began on 13 March and continued up to 16 March. During the course of discussion Mr. Nehru stressed that South Africa should not be expelled but confronted with an agreed formula by which she could either accept the principle of racial equality and continue to be a Commonwealth member or reject it and quit the Commonwealth. With the exception of Mr. Macmillan, Mr. Menzies and Mr. Holyoake, all the other leaders veered round to Mr. Nehru's viewpoint. The Canadian Prime Minister, Mr. Diefenbaker, said that the continuance of South Africa's membership of the Commonwealth even after becoming a republic was not a matter of procedural formality but a substantive issue. He also warned that Commonwealth would not survive long without applying minimum standards of human dignity to its members. Similar feeling was expressed by others also. There was a general demand made for either the modification in South Africa's apartheid policy or her exit from the Commonwealth. Thereupon, the South African Prime Minister,

Dr. Verwoerd, held out the threat that his country would leave the Commonwealth if the other members imposed conditions of its retention in it. This threat was followed by a counter-threat by the Prime Minister of Ghana, Mr. Nkrumah, that African countries like his would quit the Commonwealth if South Africa was allowed to be its member without giving up the policy of apartheid. Ultimately, South Africa announced its decision to leave the Commonwealth. All efforts of Mr. Macmillan to reach a compromise and retain South Africa in the Commonwealth failed.

This gave a great setback to the remaining sessions of the Commonwealth and the unfinished items on the agenda were only hurriedly gone through. At the conclusion of the conference a communique was issued. It announced a "skeleton" disarmament plan including a proposal for the creation of an international police force. The participants in the conference reaffirmed the support of their governments for the United Nations action in the Congo and deplored any foreign intervention there. They also declared that UN forces in the Congo should be strengthened. The communique expressed great concern with the situation in Laos. Various proposals for changes in the United Nations structure were also considered and it was found that any change in this regard could be possible only with general consent. The Prime Ministers agreed that whatever changes might be made in the structure of the United Nations, it was vitally important to uphold the purpose of the United Nations in the interest of international peace.

This year's Commonwealth Conference was a historic conference. The reason is obviously the exit of South Africa. In fact, the issue of South Africa's continued membership resolved itself in a rather unexpected manner. Instead of the Commonwealth itself taking a decision rejecting the South Africa's application, Dr. Verwoerd himself opted out of the Commonwealth. This saved the London Conferees from a lot of embarrassment and they have every reason to congratulate themselves. White members like Great Britain would not have liked to expel South Africa. On the other hand, the Asian and African Prime Ministers would have had to face exceedingly embarrassing reactions on their return home if they had succumbed to Mr. Macmillan's policy of persuasion and compromise. Also, South Africa's retention in the Commonwealth might have cost Britain the membership of all the Afro-Asian colleagues. It is believed that Mr. Julius Nyerere, Chief Minister of the newly-elected government of Tanganyika, played a great part in this connection. About a month before the Commonwealth Conference began, he wrote letters to all the Commonwealth Prime Ministers appealing to them to take a firm stand against South Africa's racial policies at the London Conference. At that time, no such understanding was given by anybody to Mr. Nyerere. But during the week-end recess, he issued a well-reasoned and strongly-worded warning to Afro-Asian participants in the Conference that when Tanganyika becomes independent, it would not choose to be a member of the Commonwealth if South Africa would still be its member then. This warning gave a decisive turn to the whole situation. The result of the marathon debate on South Africa's membership question was that except the White Prime Ministers all the rest fell in line one by one with the overall Afro-Asian view which soon solidified into a common front. Thus the link of half a century between South Africa and Commonwealth was severed. In general, the exit of South Africa has been welcome as a good riddance. It is hoped that the Commonwealth will now be free to develop as a multi-racial group in the real sense, although Dr. Verwoerd has prophesied that the withdrawal of his country from the Commonwealth makes the beginning of its disintegration. Whether such a prophecy is Dr. Verwoerd's sound judgment or a mere sign of his irritation is too obvious a question to need an answer.

NEPAL

It may be recalled that in December 1960, King Mahendra of Nepal had dismissed the Koirala Government and formed a new Cabinet under his own chairmanship. Events

in Nepal during the last quarter showed that attempts were made to consolidate King's authority there and suppress all opposition to it. On 5 January, a Royal proclamation was issued banning all political parties. It was stated in the proclamation that attempts to establish democracy in Nepal through political parties had failed and, therefore, it would henceforth be built up from the bottom on the basis of village panchayats. On 30 January, Home Minister, Mr. B. B. Thapa, warned newspapers that government would take action if they indulged in "unhelpful" criticism. The editors were warned against writing on political subjects. On 6 February, two leading newspapers were suppressed without giving any reasons.

A meeting of 39 out of 101 members of the dissolved Nepalese Parliament who had escaped to India, was held at Patna on 26 January under the chairmanship of General Subarna Shamsher, the former Deputy Premier. Of those who attended the Conference, 36 belonged to the Nepali Congress, two to the Right-wing Gorkha Party, and one to People's Party. The Conference adopted a resolution condemning the dissolution of Parliament as unconstitutional and appealing to the King for the reconvening of Parliament and release of Mr. B. P. Koirala.

During February the King announced the formation of a number of new government bodies and a general purge of the civil service. A National Planning Commission was formed on 6 February with the King as Chairman and 16 members. On 18 February, a Ministry of National Guidance was set up with a view to inspiring people to devote themselves to the service of the nation. Earlier, on 15 February, the formation of 14 Administration Rectification Committees had been announced. The purpose of these committees was stated to weed out "anti-social and anti-progressive" elements and remove obstacles in the way of improving the administration.

On 8 February was announced a purge of the top ranks of the Civil Service. Mr. Nar Pratap Thapa (Foreign Secretary) was transferred to the newly created Ministry of Inspection and Supervision and was replaced by Prof. Yadu Nath Khanal. On 10 February nineteen more high officials were relieved of their posts including six district governors. On 6 March a decree was issued ordering all government officials, whether in service or retired, pensioners, and landlords, to be helpful to the new regime and inform the authorities immediately if any persons whom they knew were engaged in anti-government activities or propaganda. Disobedience of the decree was declared punishable by summary dismissal of officials, stoppage of pensions, and confiscation of landlords' land.

KENNEDY TAKES OVER AS U.S. PRESIDENT

On 21 January, Mr. John F. Kennedy took over as the 34th President of the United States. Though comparatively younger than his predecessors, Mr. Kennedy is an experienced politician of determined will. The office of the US President carries with it enormous powers which include those of appointment of thousands of officials to execute its orders. The US President appoints the judges of the Supreme Court and other federal judges. He is the Commander-in-Chief of armed forces. As the director of foreign policy, he makes treaties with foreign powers. He also initiates the Budget. Unlike parliamentary democracy in India, the United States follows presidential form of government. So much so that the President there is the real as well as the nominal executive. The constitutional powers of the US President appear to be so wide and comprehensive that many people have been led to believe that the President is almost a dictator. But the reality is far from this. All the appointments made by the President have to secure the approval of the Congress which also scrutinizes the Budget, amends it, and debates it before it receives the signatures of the President. With regard to the treaty-making power also there are checks on the President inasmuch as all the treaties made by him are invalid unless approved of by the Senate. If need be, the Congress can also override

the Presidential veto by a two-third majority in each House. The power of impeachment of the President by the Congress is another constitutional check on the arbitrary use of President's powers. Further, the Supreme Court as the guardian of the Constitution is authorized to decide the constitutional validity of the acts passed by the Congress and of the executive orders promulgated by the President. As such, the system of separation of powers and checks and balances between the three organs of the government ensure a smooth sailing in administration.

A staunch supporter of peace, Mr. Kennedy has vouchsafed to do whatever he can to ease the East-West tension. His inaugural address contained two very significant points with regard to foreign policy. One is that he has given an open invitation to Communist Powers to join in the task of peace-making and in controlling the use of nuclear weapons. The other is that he has promised liberal financial aid to the poorer nations of the world without any strings attached to it. This shows that Mr. Kennedy is genuinely interested in peace. This, however, is not to say that Mr. Kennedy wants to "tempt them (Communist Powers) with our weakness." But there can be no doubt about his sincere intention to find out a feasible settlement between the two power blocs. Within two months of the assumption of power he has shown manifest gestures of goodwill for and co-operation with those who are committed to the cause of peace. The poorer countries want to raise their standard of living which is not possible unless the United States and the Soviet Union come closer and advance their whole-hearted support. This again requires an end of cold war and an unshakable faith in the fundamental freedom of man. That Mr. Kennedy cherishes these ideals is apparent from his past record. This is further confirmed by Mr. Kennedy's announcement made on 1 March that he had established a peace corps of young men and women to work without pay in underdeveloped countries. Therefore, the inauguration of Kennedy administration in the United States gives a hope that the democratic forces in the world would gain renewed strength.

ECAFE CONFERENCE

From 8 to 20 March in New Delhi was held the seventeenth conference of the Economic Council for Asia and the Far East. The ECAFE region which stretches in an area from Japan to Iran has a great land mass with a population of 900 million (excluding Communist China). The total membership of the ECAFE is 21. With the single exception of Japan, all the countries are underdeveloped. They share common problems of poverty, ignorance, disease and growing population.

The ECAFE Conference projected, in the main, the goal of Asian economic co-operation within the region. The goal which indeed is both possible and desirable somewhat follows the pattern of that of European Economic Community and the European Free Trade Area. Perhaps the most important decisions taken at the Conference related to the construction of an Asian highway and the Mekong Scheme. The first is intended to encourage trade and contact within the ECAFE region while the other envisages, in the first instance, three multi-purpose projects on the Mekong river which runs in several countries of South-East Asia and four projects on its tributaries in Laos, Thailand, Cambodia, and South Viet-Nam. The purpose of this scheme is to provide irrigation facilities, flood control, a million kilowatts of power and navigation from Laos to the sea over a distance of one thousand miles. It is expected that investigation and project preparation will take five to seven years. The decision to exploit the waters of the Mekong river is very important because none of the four beneficiary countries would have been able to do it single-handedly.

The fact that the ECAFE Conference emphasized the need of regional co-operation in the economic field is also significant. For at a time when the economies of the countries of the region are undergoing great changes the question of regional co-

operation need be considered without delay and in the context of comprehensive planning in perspective. This would lead to a more rational development and more profitable exploitation of resources. However, this is not absolutely a new idea. Various schemes of economic co-operation between different nations of the region are already in operation. But a general co-operation under the aegis of the ECAFE would definitely be of greater value.

Other decisions of the ECAFE were primarily in the nature of a renewed emphasis on the need of re-organising agriculture on a more efficient basis, of diversifying the economy of each country of the region, and of developing intra-regional trade. But this too is not a new thing and has already been repeatedly pointed out by the ECAFE in all its conferences in the past 16 years. However, the Conference has decided to hold a conference of Asian planners in September next to evaluate the scope and means of co-operation among the ECAFE Powers. In accordance with a suggestion made by India, it was also decided to constitute a working group of high-level experts to analyse the problems and difficulties as also the prospects of such co-operation.

SANTA MARIA INCIDENT

On 23 January a 20,900-ton Portuguese liner, 'Santa Maria', was seized in the Caribbean by a group of seventy men led by Captain Henrique Galvao, a Portuguese political exile and a critic and opponent of Dr. Salazar's Government in Portugal. The 'Santa Maria' which belonged to the Portuguese Colonial Navigation Company was on a holiday cruise with about 600 Portuguese, American, Dutch, Venezuelan, and Spanish passengers on board. After the capture of the vessel, Captain Galvao set its course east-south-east into the Atlantic heading for West Africa. Eventually after many-angled negotiations he agreed to bring it to the Brazilian port of Recife. On 2 February the passengers were landed unarmed at Recife and Captain Galvao and his followers were given political asylum by the Brazilian Government. Then 'Santa Maria' was returned to its owners by Brazil and it sailed for Lisbon where it reached on 16 February.

Captain Galvao had declared that the 'Santa Maria' had been captured in the name of the Independent Junta of Liberation led by General Delgado, who was legally elected President of the Portuguese Republic and who had been fraudulently deprived of his rights by the Salazar Government. General Delgado contested the last Portuguese presidential election in 1958. Fearing arrest, he sought asylum in the Brazilian Embassy in January 1959 and in April of the same year he was allowed to settle in Brazil under an agreement between the Governments of Portugal and Brazil.

Though Brazil has returned 'Santa Maria' to Portugal, there are reports about the existence in Brazil of a group of anti-Salazar leaders who enjoy the support of President Quadros's new regime. The British Labour and Liberal Parties also support the exiled Portuguese leaders. In fact, the Santa Maria incident is connected with the developments in Angola. The leaders of Angola demand a return to more democratic forms of government. But the Salazar Government does not seem to be in a mood to concede the demand. Rather it seems determined, like the supporters of apartheid in South Africa, not to pay heed to the signs of emerging nationalism in Angola. As a result of recent disturbances there, the Salazar Government has further intensified its repressive measures. It is, however, significant that no European Power has extended support to Salazar. The martyrdom of Angola nationalists cannot go unrewarded. It will triumph ultimately and make Salazar Administration realise that indefinite postponement of self-rule to Angola is not possible in a world in which racialism and colonialism are condemned all round.

CASABLANCA CONFERENCE

On 4 January opened a Conference of heads of some independent African States in Casablanca under the chairmanship of the late King Mohammad V of Morocco. It was

attended by President Nasser of the United Arab Republic, President Nkrumah of Ghana, President Toure of Guinea and President Keita of Mali. Mr. Abdul Qadir Allam, Foreign Minister of Libya represented Libya. The Algerian insurgents were represented by Ferhat Abbas, head of the "Provisional Government" of Algeria. Mr. Thomas Kanza (UN representative of the late Congolese Premier, Mr. Lumumba) and Mr. Alwin Perera (Ceylonese Ambassador to Morocco) were also present in the conference as observers. Invitations were extended to Tunisia, Nigeria, Liberia and Togoland but all of them declined to attend the Conference.

The main issues which were discussed at the Casablanca Conference related to the Congo, Algeria, Mauritania and French nuclear tests in the Sahara. The Conferees announced their determination to withdraw their troops from the UN Command in the Congo, although the question of the time of withdrawal was left to be decided by the governments concerned. They also demanded the restoration of the authority of the "sole legal government" of the late Mr. Lumumba, disbandment of Col. Mobutu's troops and re-opening of the Congolese Parliament. With regard to the question of Algeria, the participants announced their support for the Algerian insurgents and appealed to all African countries to prevent their territories from being used in any war against the Algerian insurgents. The Casablanca Conference also supported Morocco's claim to Mauritania which has already become independent. Some resolutions were also adopted in the Conference which condemned the French nuclear tests in the Sahara.

At the conclusion of the Conference it was announced by the late King Mohammad V and the four Presidents on 7 January that they had adopted an "African Charter" which all independent African States were free to join. They also declared their determination to maintain identity of views on policy matters, to follow a policy of non-alignment, to "liberate the African territories still under foreign domination," to "liquidate colonialism and neo-colonialism in all their forms", and to resist the establishment of foreign troops and foreign military bases in Africa. It was also decided that an African Consultative Assembly would be set up together with a committee for political affairs consisting of Heads of States. A Joint African High Command was also stipulated to be formed which would consist of the Chiefs of Staff of African States. However, the African Charter was not signed by the delegates of Algeria and Libya.

The Casablanca Conference is an indication of a trend rising in favour of the desirability of collective security system for the African Continent. On his return from the Conference to Accra, President Nkrumah said that the Casablanca Conference had "laid the foundations of the political unity of the African Continent" and that African High Command offered great hopes of "peace and collective security for the African States". What fruit is this new attempt at the political stability of Africa going to bear is at present only a matter of conjecture.

BOOK REVIEWS

In Search of Humanity, by Cobban, Alfred, London, Jonathan Cape, 1960, 254 pages, 32 sh.

Prof. Cobban is well known for his knowledge of European History and also as the editor of the Journal, *History*. This book is the sequel to his lecture on "The Enlightenment", at the University of Harvard. It is, however, the outcome of many years of diligent study. The main theme of the book is the decline in standards of moral and political behaviour in the world. Prof. Cobban has undertaken to provide an exposition of the ideology of the Enlightenment and has attempted to apply those ideas to modern times.

The book is in five parts. The introductory part indicates the problem of the twentieth century, particularly it affects political theory. The second part of the book is devoted to a review of the philosophic and political ideas developed from the days of Descartes to those of Montesquieu. In part III, Prof. Cobban reviews The Enlightenment of the Eighteenth Century. His discussion of Voltaire, Hume and Rousseau are particularly illuminating. The fourth part of the book describes the factors which led to the frustration of The Enlightenment. Most significant of these is the factor of war. The century of The Enlightenment, as the author points out, "ended in a blaze, if not of glory, at any rate a blaze."

The concluding part of the book ought to be of special interest to those who live in the twentieth century. No one will deny that we are living in a period of crisis. Prof. Cobban has made an appropriate reference to Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr's famous book "Moral Man in Immoral Society." "The Twentieth Century", as Prof. Cobban remarks, "is belatedly becoming aware that something is missing, though it hardly as yet knows what that is. The more 'advanced' the country, the more this gap is felt. It is the price that is paid for the creation of a technological society, which devotes endless energy to the problem of how to do things, but very little thought to whether they are worth doing." All things considered, the book makes delightful reading, besides providing ample food for thought.

Wellington, by Fortescue Sir John, London Ernest Benn Limited, (Third Edition) 1960, 255 pages 25 sh.

The author of this book is an expert Military Historian. Among his many attainments, mention must be made of the fact that he was librarian at Windsor Castle for over twenty years. On the cover of the book is a reproduction of the Goya crayon portrait of Wellington in the British museum. Inside the book are sketch maps of the Iberian Peninsula, the Low Countries, and India, where Wellington achieved greatness as a Military Commander. The book sketches in chronological order, various events in Wellington's life from his birth in 1769 till his death in 1852. The military career of Wellington may be divided into three main phases—his command in India, his participation in the long war of attrition in the Iberian Peninsula, and his campaign against Napoleon which culminated in his triumph at Waterloo.

Students of Indian Military History will be interested in the chapters describing Wellington in India. Sir John has added considerable interest to the minds of lay readers in this country by quotations from Wellington's letters and writings. Thus, for instance, in one of his letters written to his brother, barely two years after he set foot in this country, Wellington remarked: "I know but one receipt for good health in this country, and this is to live moderately, to drink little or no wine, to use exercise, to keep the mind employed, and, if possible, to keep in good humour with the world. The last is the most difficult, for, as you have often observed, there is hardly a good-tempered man in India."

In 1808 Napoleon invaded Spain. Wellington was appointed to command a force in Portugal. Then followed a long war in the Iberian Peninsula. Napoleon's determined attempts to drive the British out of the Iberian Peninsula were eventually foiled by the genius of Wellington. The secret of his success has been disclosed by Sir John in the following words: "In the Peninsula, as in India, he raised the standard alike of professional knowledge and of moral conduct." His soldiers emulated his example in dealing gently and mercifully with their fallen enemies.

With Napoleon's escape from Elba in 1815, England was once again faced with the prospect of a foreign invasion. Wellington moved across to the Low Countries to meet Napoleon. What happened at Waterloo is too well known to be described here, but the wealth of detail which Sir John Fortescue has put into his description of Wellington's campaign makes fascinating reading.

The last chapter of the book contains an elaborate pen picture of Wellington. His wavy black hair, fine blue eyes, aquiline nose, immensely strong jaw and pointed chin, though not physically attractive, certainly indicated character. In his habits he was abstemious, but he invariably showed firmness, determination, and singleness of purpose. Among his many interests, his love for music was one. He was particularly fond of listening to the music of Handel. Sir John has thus summed up the personality of Wellington: "It was the spirit of uprightness, of truthful dealing, of unwearied industry, of unflinching obedience, the spirit of a man who feared God and loved his country. It is much to be a great general and a great ruler of men: it is more to be also a great gentleman and a great patriot. It is more than all to exalt for ever in a great nation the standard of discipline and of duty."

WTVA

The Call to Honour 1940-42 by General de Gaulle (Collins, 14, St James' Place, SW. 1), 320 pages. Price 18 sh.

Unity 1942-44, by General de Gaulle (Weidenfeld & Nicholson), 339 pages. Price 30 sh.

Salvation 1944-46 by General de Gaulle (Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 7, Cork St., W1), 298 pages. Price 30 sh.

The war memoirs of General de Gaulle have been published in three volumes during the last five years.

De Gaulle has been a unique figure in our times, and it is befitting that his memoirs should be in a different category from any others published since the war. It has none of the florid journalism of Churchill's nor the egotistic lucubrations of self-justifying generals—British and American. De Gaulle writes with a sense of history, as distinct from the squalid day-to-day reportage of squabbles and frustrations which are too often the main theme of contemporary memoirs.

The first volume tells us the story of the Fall of France, the author's escape to the free world and of his efforts to rally the Free French round the Cross of Lorraine. It answers many questions which would otherwise have remained unanswered: How were his decisions reached? What problems did he encounter as a French General in trying to persuade the French Government to go to North Africa and continue the war from there.

No bitterness, no belittlement.

After the formation of the Free French movement in London, we are taken through the disappointment of Dakar to the numerous rallying points of French Africa where the movement spread under the guidance of de Gaulle. Then the liberation of Syria and Lebanon; and the threat to break with Great Britain. Other chapters carry the story to the Pacific, Washington and Moscow—as the war grew and problems changed.

The second volume takes us from the third year of the war to the liberation of Paris when de Gaulle walked serenely along the boulevards among the ecstatic population who greeted him as they might have done some blinding (and awkward) God. Like the first volume, it is a record written with style and dignity. There is nothing petty about the General's criticisms—no bitterness or belittlement. This modern Joan of Arc, who has held aloft for over two decades the torch of France's destiny, was often at loggerheads with Allied leaders, and in spite of the weakness of his position often managed to make his views prevail.

Interspersed among the accounts of high policy and negotiation are innumerable stories of French heroism in the war. There is also an enthralling picture of the birth and build up of the French Forces of the Interior—the Renaissance fighters who did so much to help British and American forces during the invasion. The liberation of Paris makes a fitting climax to the second volume.

The third volume, recently published, is mainly devoted to the years of self-imposed exile in Champagne. It is thus less exciting than the first two volumes, being mainly an introspective account of the author's attempt to prolong the illusion of national grandeur and unity into permanency, and his failure due to the lack of faith of professional politicians. It is a devastating analysis of the 'malaise' that gripped France in the late 'forties and in the fifties'. From his "little property" in Champagne, General de Gaulle surveys the "wide" mournful horizons—the obsession of French politicians with France's internal welfare, which the author castigates as a functional inability to match her historic role.

Readers may disagree with de Gaulle's rendering of France's post-war role. The tragedy of France in recent years has been her hopeless inability to cope with her responsibilities in her numerous possessions abroad. It was de Gaulle who saddled France with this burden, for after the war he secured for her all her pre-war possessions—with the exception of the Levant. Had the Destiny of France been limited to her metropolitan milieus, the Fourth Republic might still be flourishing. The grandeur of the power game would have been lacking, but France could certainly have redeemed her position as a stable democracy. Instead, the heritage of de Gaulle plunged France into two disastrous colonial wars—which eventually led to the collapse of democracy in 1958. In Algiers, even de Gaulle will have to seek hard to find traces of the greatness which he has so consistently and untiringly sought for France.

These volumes will be acclaimed as something more than memoirs: they are the testament of a nation's spirit.

When General de Gaulle left Bordeaux in 1940 to carry the torch of freedom abroad, he also "carried with him," (wrote Sir Winston Churchill) "in his small aeroplane, the honour of France." The de Gaulle Memoirs is the history of the nation's struggle to keep that torch alight.

Deterrent or Defence by Liddell Hart (Stevens, II, New Fetter Lane), 257 pages. Price 30 sh.

Ten years have passed since this veteran military analyst last published a book on current problems of defence—though during this interval he has written numerous articles for the leading journals of Britain and America. Now we have, for the first time in book form, the views of Capt. Liddell Hart on the strategic and tactical position of the West in the nuclear age.

"Deterrent or Defence" is a collection of articles and memoranda on a whole range of subjects—varying from Sputniks and Luniks to Night Operations, geo-political essays, and the author's views on neutrality, passive resistance and disengagement all woven into the pattern of current military affairs.

As the NATO powers move uneasily into the 'sixties, Captain Liddell Hart shows how the development of the H Bomb, and indeed the multiplication in general of nuclear weapons, has become increasingly self-inhibiting and increasingly precarious as a protective insurance policy—especially since the development of long range missiles. Nuclear parity has led to nuclear nullity, with the result that the Western powers are now gravely hampered in any attempt to resist the more subtle forms of aggression and pressure. The author, however, having carefully analysed the ailment, offers a hopeful cure, demonstrating how the weakness of the West's present position can be remedied without an intolerable outlay in strain and cost.

The book is divided into five parts. The first, Retrospect, is little more than a "bird's eye" review of Russian, American and British strategic concepts during the mid-fifties and, though now quite out of date, has been included presumably to provide a background of the author's line of thought and analysis of current problems.

The next part, Prospect, deals in turn with the various technical factors of the late 'fifties and the present. Although the various chapters are separate and independent articles, the thread of the author's argument is easily picked up: the mutual possession of nuclear weapons nullify the value of possessing them—for even a decisive superiority of numbers does not ensure victory, as it has with other weapons, but merely mutual destruction; and there are no degrees of importance in the matter of suicide. In two chapters entitled "Could Conventional Forces Suffice" and "Amphibious Flexibility and Forces", the author poses the problem which particularly faces Britain today, now that Mr. Sandy's face-saving formula of the 1957 White Paper has finally been discarded.

In Part Three, the author discusses the NATO shield, emphasising some aspects of the problems which have so far received scant attention—such as the threat to the Baltic and Near East Flanks. Although the author doubts whether NATO can protect the West as it is constituted today, he holds out hope "given the will, the intelligence, and a thorough re-investigation of the existing organisation to provide the West with a non-suicidal form of defence, and a much safer deterrent than it has in its present reliance on the power of nuclear retaliation. . . ."

The author discusses key tactical problems in Part Four, which is one of the most interesting of the book. In an article entitled "New Tactics and Tactical Organisation" Capt. Liddell Hart attempts to provide an answer to the vexing problem of concentration of forces in nuclear battle. He stresses the need to grasp the principle of "fluidity of force" in contrast to the old and obvious interpretation of "concentration"—and the necessity of developing a new technique of "controlled dispersion"—that is, the distribution of forces in a flexible chain of small groups, each of them completely mobile, capable of operating separately but as dispersed elements of the same overall design. In another article the author discusses tanks and their future, warning against the ever-recurring theory, in various stages of military development, that tanks were obsolete on the nuclear battle-field.

In Part Five, he examines the alternative political proposals which have been put forward as solutions to the present nuclear dilemma—including the prescription first offered by Sir Stephen King-Hall in his book "Defence in the Nuclear Age", political—psychological operations aimed at the protection of Western ideas as opposed to Communist propaganda.

In an Epilogue the author offers his own views on the best road to peace. He sums up his conclusion as follows: "An adequate shield force on the ground is a better safeguard than to depend purely on the retaliatory threat of nuclear bombing or missile bombardment. An atom-bomb is not a good policeman, fireman or frontier guard. It is uncertain of stopping an inroad or outbreak, while liable to be mutually fatal in ultimate effects."

It would be interesting to see how far the British Government, currently perplexed in formulating its new defence policy, takes into consideration the advice of one who has for the past thirty years influenced British military policy.

The Memoirs of Lord Ismay (Heinemann), 486 pages. Price 42 sh.

A Full Life by Lieut-General Sir Brian Horrocks (Collins), 320 pages. Price 25 sh.

These are the two latest publications of memoirs of Second World War generals—the first by an Indian Army man who rose up the ladder of rank to high office without ever having commanded anything larger than a company of camelry in Somaliland; the second by one of Montgomery's "professional" corps commanders, who fought under him both in North Africa and in the campaign on the Continent.

Lord Ismay joined PAVO Cavalry in 1906, and after having missed the fighting in the First World War by being side-tracked to the Somaliland Camel Corps, caught the eye of the powers-that-be during his tenure as Assistant Secretary to the Committee of Imperial Defence in the late 'twenties'. From then on his memoirs are almost a continuous record of the growth of, and his association with, the C.I.D. and its successors in Whitehall. Having held the posts of Deputy Secretary and Secretary successively, and having been appointed a member of the Chiefs of Staff Committee (as Mr. Churchill's personal representative), the author had a grandstand view of the various fields of conflict in matters of military policy between 1936 and 1946.

Other Generals have given us glimpses of these conflicts—some petulantly, some ego-centrally, still others inconsequentially. Lord Ismay, because of his peculiar position in the Ministry and of his relationship with Mr. Churchill, and because of his characteristic role as peace-maker, now supplies us with as objective an account of all these behind-the-scenes (and sometimes none-too-savoury) aspects of high policy as we are ever likely to read. There is nothing new in anything he has to record regarding the great events that occurred during his tenures at Whitehall—they have all been said before, by Churchill, by Alanbrooke, and by others. But without the flamboyancy of the former or the petulance of the latter, Lord Ismay nevertheless makes his contribution to objective history.

For instance, what he has to say of the Auchinleck episode throws light on this subject from a new angle. He paints a background of a Churchill acutely apprehensive of Parliamentary criticism. Shortly after the First Alamein battle, when he was still in Washington, political pressures at home developing against Churchill's leadership seem to have warped his appreciation of the situation in the Middle East. He seems to have been so obsessed by Rommel and his successes that he saw the strategic victory of Auchinleck's Alamein battle, which stopped Rommel for ever, as defeat—and sacked his successful commander.

Lord Ismay points out that Churchill's conduct of the war was criticised from time to time, but never so severely as during the North African disasters. The Prime Minister was acutely conscious of these attacks: indeed he must have been quite shaken by the recommendation of one Member that British Land forces be commanded by Czechs and Poles until Commonwealth generals gained more experience and professional skill.

Lord Ismay, who was a close and sympathetic friend of the "Auk", feels that in the circumstances it was inevitable that he was replaced. "On both occasions (Crusader and Alamein) he had shown resolution and tactical skill of a high order. But some of his decisions were not easy to understand. He may have been perfectly right to put Ritchie in temporary command of the Eighth Army when Cunningham broke down, but was he wise to keep him there as a permanency? If no one on the spot seemed the right man, there was nothing to prevent his asking for a replacement from England. . . . Again, was he not unwise to refuse to fall in with the suggestion from London that he should take

personal command of the June battle as soon as it became apparent that things were going wrong?" Churchill, Lord Ismay feels, had no alternative but to act according to the undercurrent of feeling in Britain—that Auchinleck must go.

General Horrocks' book, written with more gusto and flamboyance, reflects his character as truly as the gentle poise and lofty surroundings reflect that of Lord Ismay. General Horrocks has this in common with the latter, that the First World War passed him by. After a brief interlude at the front he spent the rest of the war in prison camps. Then, after an abortive attempt at soldiering in Siberia and a further taste of war prisons, he did the usual spells of routine soldiering (including Staff College) before the Second World War.

A brief period in France served him well, for he was fortunate enough to catch Monty's eye. Monty sends for him in Africa and thence starts an association through the Second Alamein and Mareth to France and Arnhem. He describes this period with the same skill and clarity that he brought to his battles—and even if we get the feeling the Monty's principle of "every-man-his-ceiling" must have been applied to this long-standing corps commander, this in no way detracts from an enjoyment of the narrative.

Though primarily concerned with the fighting on the battle-field rather than ground strategy, General Horrocks inevitably came into contact with the great figures of the behind-the-scenes activities. His assessments of them are not only illuminating but often amusing—but always singularly fair-minded. Indeed, his fair-mindedness enables him to put into new and helpful perspectives such controversies as that between Eisenhower and Montgomery after Normandy, and between Montgomery and Auchinleck as to what happened at the famous interview when the latter handed over to the former after the First Alamein.

The author makes it clear that contrary to Monty's insinuations "there was nothing defensive about Auchinleck at this period." He does not understand how Montgomery could have recorded such malicious insinuations after his interview. He thinks it was a clash of personalities. But then his loyalty to Monty was too recent for him to speak out his mind.

Some of the battle narratives, particularly the Mareth Battle and the night attack by Shermans, are well worth the historian's study.

Cyprus Guerilla by Doros Alastos (Heinemann, 99 Great Russell St. WCI), 224 pages. Price 21 sh.

Cyprus and Makarios by Stanley Mayes (Putnam). Price 30 sh.

A new republic in the Mediterranean came into being this year, after a bitter strife that for four years broke the peace of the once tranquil island of Cyprus. Much of what went on behind the scenes during these four years has never before been revealed. These two books on the Cyprian struggle for independence help to clear up the background activities which have so far been shrouded in mystery.

Cyprus Guerilla is an account of the revolt, analysing its causes and describing many of the incidents during the four violent years before the Zurich agreements were signed in London in February 1959. The author, a Cypriot, is able to reveal something of the daring and ingenious methods of the EOKA guerillas; their hide-outs in the mountains and forests, or in a peasant's cellar; their secret organisation which penetrated the church, the administration, and even the police.

The war had originated as a fight between friends, little more than just a regrettable tiff. Then what was an angry protest developed into full-blooded violence. It began as an Anglo Greek dispute over the question of Enosis; it ended as a dispute involving Greeks, English and Turks—and excluding Enosis. It involved priests and police, guerillas and soldiers, women, school children and old men. Basically, it was fight between a small, compact, secret military organisation and a numerically superior, well organised

and equipped professional army. Its numerous ramifications spread tentacle-like, reaching out and disturbing conditions in Greece, Turkey, Britain, and even straining the NATO alliance. It was at once a small, bitter war and a general upheaval.

There were people in the outside world who saw the struggle in terms of senseless terrorism; but the Cypriots saw it as a glorious campaign to acquire the status of statehood. As wars go, this one was not over-Sanguinary: it cost about 650 lives, half of them Greek Cypriots, the rest English or Cypriot Turks. But the issue was always clear: the Greek Cypriot was fighting British authority for his freedom.

The author also provides us with intimate and revealing descriptions of EOKA's twin leaders—Makarios, the youthful and powerful archbishop on one of Christendom's oldest thrones; and Colonel Grivas (or Dighenis, as he was known to Cypriots), the enigmatic guerilla chief who organised the ambushes, the raids and assassinations in EOKA's resistance to the British armed forces.

The second book, by Mr. Stanley Mayes, makes an approach to Cyprus through the complex character of Makarios. It is a full and objective account of the Cyprus problem and its development since Makarios came to power as Archbishop at the age of 37, examines the latter's career in detail, and reviews the traditions and precedents that enable a prelate of the Cypriot Church to wield such political power.

Over the last decade, the Archbishop's energy has been unflagging and his influence pervasive, even from exile, even after independence had been agreed. Through all the recent political history there runs one strand of evil memory—that of violence. The author scrupulously traces the relationship of Makarios—as did Mr. Alastos, in the first book—with Colonel Grivas and the EOKA. He recalls the Archbishop's repeated insistence that, for Cyprus, Enosis is the only goal—a goal that, even now, he has never repudiated.

Mr. Mayes also studies the various parts played in the island's history by Turkish, Greek and British politics—the old Anglo-Turkish links, the British offer to Greece in 1915, the contradictory voices of the Labour Party. He writes for laymen, with accuracy and precise references.

DKP

Man-Eaters of Kumaon and the Temple Tiger by Jim Corbett (Oxford University Press, 1960) 383 pages, Price 8 sh. 6 d.

Jim Corbett is a world famed figure. He was a "gentleman with boundless courage" like a tiger, so described him Geoffrey Cumberlege. His shikar experiences certainly bear this out. He was fearless, sturdy beyond the common, a master of jungle lore and had amassed knowledge about the animals beyond compass. Who else would wander in the jungles alone with man-eating marauders around. He had an uncanny jungle sense I would call it the Sixth sense, of impending danger. He hunted over a dozen man-eaters, including tigers and panthers.

At the same time, Jim Corbett did things which are inexplicable to an experienced shikari. Here are some examples from his own narration. Once while following the Champawat tiger, he disturbed it four times the same day in an area which was suitable for beating. And the next day he did beat for the tiger and shot it. While going out to this beat, he only carried three cartridges, and was later on faced with the situation recorded by himself as follows: "She flinched at the second shot but continued, with her ears laid flat and bared teeth, to stand her ground, while I sat with rifle to shoulder trying to think what it would be best for me to do when she charged, for the rifle was empty and I had no more cartridges".

On another occasion, while hunting the Temple tiger, he has stated that "when I fired, as I thought, into the tiger's back, I was convinced I was delivering a fatal wound and the angry response followed by the mad rush and sudden cessation of sound was ample justification for thinking that the tiger had died in his tracks. My second shot

had killed the bear outright so there was no necessity . . . to re-load the rifle before laying it across my knees". Jim Corbett was surprised later to see the tiger galloping away and felt helpless. One of the first laws in the jungle is to re-load your empty rifle against unforeseen danger. Such inexplicable instances show the risks which Jim Corbett took at times.

Re-reading *Man-Eaters of Kumaon* and *The Temple Tiger* has been of special interest to me at this time. I have recently visited the area of his exploits. There stands a small building, on the Forest Road from Haldwani to Ramnagar, at Kala Dhungi which was his winter home for almost half a century. The compound wall as a protection from the deer family and the fields around still stand as of yore. They were bequeathed to his bearer when he left India for Africa. As you cast your eyes on the building and the surroundings, you cannot help but think of the many adventures of this exceptional hunter. Prem Singh, my shikari, was a boy with Jim Corbett. Every hamlet for miles has a tale to tell of Corbett Sahib. The name of Jim Corbett will not only live with the present generation but has been perpetuated by the foresight of the Government of India when in 1957, after his death, Government decreed that the Game Sanctuary established by his efforts in Garhwal in 1935 should henceforth be known as the Corbett National Park in memory of one who had dedicated his life to the service of the simple hill folks of Kumaon.

The National Park is fulfilling the one desire of Jim Corbett—preservation of wild life. In this Park stand several rest houses. But the one at Dikala on the bank of the Ram Ganga with a tourist lodge, is a place of great natural beauty. It overlooks the crystal clear waters of the Ram Ganga with several ranges of the Himalayas, each higher than the last, until you see the snow-capped mountains of Garhwal. Here in the Sanctuary may be seen elephants, cheetal, occasionally tiger, and the growing abundance of game. Here a dream of Jim Corbett's has come true. He is no more, but his memory and deeds live on. What more a man could wish for, even as great a hunter as Jim Corbett.

I strongly commend *Man-Eaters of Kumaon* and *The Temple Tiger*, a book of great interest to be read by every shikari.

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SECRETARY'S NOTES

MEMBERSHIP

During the first quarter of 1961 we have enrolled over 84 new members and messes. It has, let me add, been largely due to the enthusiasm of members in persuading their brother officers to join. We cannot, however, afford to slacken our efforts in this direction—our membership is still very low. We must continue our efforts to make every serving officer to become a member of this Institution. In this campaign every member can help.

MESS LIBRARIES

Although it is gratifying to know that more and more officers have joined the Institution, it would be helpful if these members in Messes which do not subscribe to the Journal would persuade the President of their Mess Committee to add this Journal to the periodical, available in the Mess. Thus, our readers' circle would be greatly increased, useful information contained in articles would reach more officers, and the influence which the Journal can exert would be correspondingly increased.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION

I would like to thank all those members who paid their subscription so promptly at the beginning of the year.

To those of you who have not yet paid, may I remind you that your subscription was due three months ago on the 1st January. Would you please, therefore, put a cheque in the post to me TODAY. There are some members who have also to pay their subscription for 1960. They are requested to make the payment for both the years to avoid unnecessary reminders.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE JOURNAL

The USI Journal is in its ninety-first year of publication. As you will, no doubt appreciate, the Institution spends a great deal of its funds on producing this publication. We would like to have your comments, criticism and suggestions so that we may improve this publication to meet your interests.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

We wish to develop this feature in the Journal, so if there is any point in its pages on which you feel you would like to send me a letter for publication, do please send it along. It might be a letter of commendation on an article, or you might disagree with the conclusion of a writer. Whatever it is, send in your letter and I will endeavour to get it in. Letters should be as brief as possible and should be sent to the Editor, USI Journal.

LIBRARY

An extensive library is available for members of the Institution at Kashmir House, New Delhi. Members stationed outside New Delhi may receive books on application; they will be sent post free by registered parcel post, and must be returned within two months, or immediately on recall. No more than three volumes may be issued at any one time. Reference books and works marked "Confidential" may not be removed from the Library. If after the expiration of three weeks from the date of issue a book is wanted by another member it will be recalled. Should a book not be returned within fourteen days of the date of recall, it must be paid for, the cost of lost or defaced books being refunded by the member to whom they were issued. Such volumes which have become out of print will be valued by the Executive Committee, the member being required to pay the cost so fixed.

A catalogue of books may be obtained on payment of Rs. 6/- per copy, plus postage.

OLD BOOKS AND TROPHIES

The Institution is in possession of a collection of old and rare books presented by members from time to time and while such books are not available for circulation, they can be seen by members visiting Delhi. The Secretary will be glad to acknowledge the gift of books, trophies, medals etc., presented to the Institution.

LOAN OF LIBRARY BOOKS

Members are requested not to pass on the books which they have borrowed from the Library to their friends. This delays return of books to the Library and causes unnecessary inconvenience to other members, on the waiting list.

REVISION COURSES 1961

PROMOTION EXAMINATION PART 'D'.

The next Revision Course for Promotion Examination, Part 'D', will be held under the auspices of the Institution from 28 August to 15 October, 1961.

The Course will cover the following subjects :—

- (a) Tactics.
- (b) Administration and Morale.
- (c) Military History.
- (d) Current Affairs.
- (e) Military Law.

Instruction will be in the form of lectures, discussions and correction of compulsory written work.

The fee will be Rs. 15/- per subject. Fee for the whole course (five subjects) will be Rs. 50/-.

The course will be open to members of the USI only.

Applications from officers desirous of attending the course should reach the Secretary, with details of subjects being taken and the required fees in advance, by 23rd August 1961.

D.S.S.C. ENTRANCE EXAMINATION

The next Revision Course for DSSC (Army Wing) Entrance Examination will be held under the auspices of the Institution from 3rd October to 26th November, 1961.

The course will cover all the six papers of the Syllabus. Instruction will be in the form of lectures, discussions and correction of compulsory written work.

The fees for the course will be Rs. 100/- (Rupees one hundred only).

The course will be open to members of the USI only.

Applications from officers desirous of attending the course should reach the Secretary, with the required fees in advance, by 1st of August, 1961.

NEW MEMBERS

From 1st January to 31st March 1961 the following members joined the Institution:

AHLAWAT, Captain T. S., The Sikh Light Infantry.	BALKRISHNA, Major V. K., A.S.C.
AMARJIT SINGH, 2/Lieut., Engineers (Life).	BANAJI, Major E. P., Engineers.
BABULKAR, Captain R. B., Signals (Life).	BANERJEE, 2/Lieut. D., 1 Gorkha Rifles, (Life).
BAJAJ, 2/Lieut. M. M. S., 11 Gorkha Rifles.	BATH, 2/Lieut. B. S., Engineers (Life).
BALBIR SINGH, Captain, The J & K Militia.	BHAMBHANI, 2/Lieut. M. L., A.S.C.
	BHUTANI, Captain M. L., Engineers.
	BOHRA, Captain P. S., 1 Gorkha Rifles.

CHADHA, 2/Lieut. J. L., Artillery (Life).
 CHANDA, 2/Lieut. J., 3 Gorkha Rifles (Life).
 CHAVAN, Major R. S., 11 Gorkha Rifles.
 CHAWLA, Captain P. P., Engineers.
 CHEEMA, 2/Lieut. S. S., Engineers.
 CHOPRA, Captain I. J., The Deccan Horse.
 DATTA, 2/Lieut. M. L., Signals (Life).
 DAVE, Captain V. S., Survey of India.
 DEVASSY, 2/Lieut. V. J., The Rajput Regiment.
 DEVINDER SINGH, 2/Lieut., Signals.
 DHAWAN, 2/Lieut. P. R., Artillery.
 DIDDI, 2/Lieut. R. K., 9 J & K Regiment (Life).
 GANESH, Major R. N.
 GOPAL DAS, Captain, Signals.
 GOSWAMY, 2/Lieut. V. K., The Garhwal Rifles.
 GUPTA, Captain V. P., Artillery.
 GUR DAYAL, Major, Engineers.
 HARBANS SINGH GUJRAL, Captain.
 HARI CHAND, Captain, Signals.
 HOSKOTE, 2/Lieut. S. N., Engineers.
 IYER, 2/Lieut. V. K., A.O.C.
 JAIN, Lieut. S. N., Engineers (Life).
 JINDAL, 2/Lieut. P. K., The Kumaon Regiment (Life).
 KALA, 2/Lieut. H. B., The Jat Regiment.
 KANWAR, 2/Lieut. Y. S., 14 Horse.
 KHANNA, Captain P. C., Artillery.
 KISHAN SINGH, Captain.
 KOCHAR, 2/Lieut. J. P. S., Artillery.
 KOCHHAR, Major V. K., E.M.E.
 KOHLI, 2/Lieut. A. S., The Punjab Regiment.
 KULDIP SINGH, Captain, Engineers.
 LAMBA, 2/Lieut. OM PARKASH A.S.C. (Life).
 MADHAVANKUTTY, 2/Lieut. R. V., The Rajput Regiment.
 MAHIPAT SINHI, Captain, The Rajputana Rifles.
 MUTALIK, Captain N. G., The Madras Regiment.
 NANGIA, Captain O. P., The Rajputana Rifles.
 NARAYAN, Major K. S. L., 8 Gorkha Rifles.
 PARANJAPE, 2/Lieut. D. A., The Mahar MG Regiment.
 PENTAL, Lieut. P. S., 9 J & K Regiment (Life).
 PHADKAR, 2/Lieut. D. B., 8 Gorkha Rifles (Life).
 RAGHUBIR SAIN, Captain, The Rajput Regiment (Life).
 RAY, 2/Lieut. A., Artillery (Life).
 SAINI, 2/Lieut. S. S., Signals.
 SANDHU, 2/Lieut. B. S., 20 Lancers.
 SANDHU, Captain B. S., Signals (T.A.).
 SANDHU, Captain S. S., Engineers (Life).
 SATHI, 2/Lieut. P. C., 9 J & K Regiment (Life).
 SAWARKAR, 2/Lieut. A. B., Engineers.
 SEHRAWAT, 2/Lieut. B. S., Engineers (Life).
 SHAHANI, Captain RAJKUMAR, Artillery.
 SHARMA, 2/Lieut. R. P., Artillery.
 SHIRALI, Captain R. R., E.M.E.
 SIDHU, 2/Lieut. G. S., Artillery.
 SINGH, 2/Lieut. CHHATRA PATI, The Rajput Regiment.
 SOM NATH, Captain, A.S.C.
 SURJIT KUMAR, Lieut., 9 J & K Regiment (Life).
 SURINDAR SINGH, Captain, 4 Horse.
 TILAK RAJ, Captain, 8 Gorkha Rifles.
 VASUDEVAN, 2/Lieut. K. P., A.S.C.
 VIJAY KUMAR, 2/Lieut., The Maratha Light Infantry.
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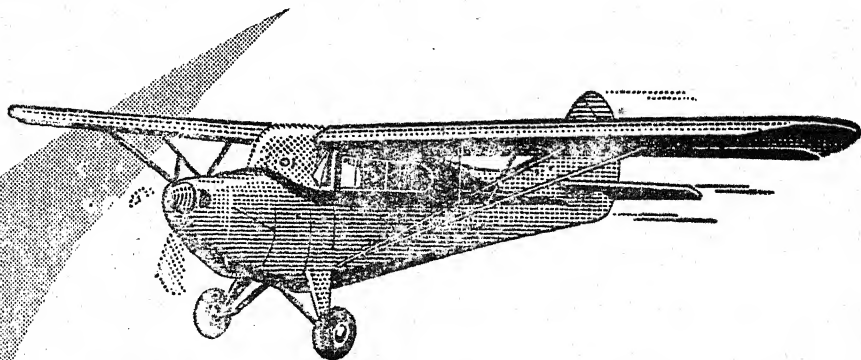
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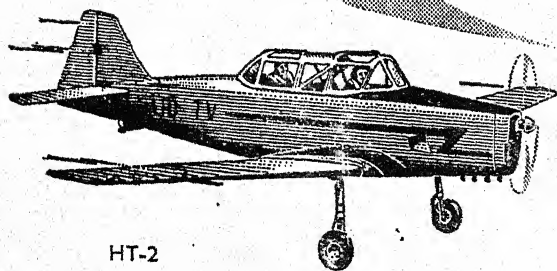
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- (b) **NCC Direct Entry** ... Age 19-22 years. For technical graduates 20-25 years. Unmarried. Passed Degree examination. Must have served in NCC for 3 years and possess 'C' Certificate. Discharged from NCC not earlier than one year.
- (c) **Service candidates** ... Age 21-27 years. Passed Matriculation/Army Special Examination. Must be one year trained soldier holding L/Nk rank. Married candidates are eligible.

GRADUATES COURSE

INDIAN MILITARY ACADEMY, DEHRA DUN

- (a) **Engineers**
 - (b) **Signals**
 - (c) **EME**
- ... Age 20-27 years. Passed Sections A and B of the Associate Membership Examination of the Institution of Engineers (India)/Civil / Electrical / Mechanical / Tele Communication Engineering Degree. Married candidates are eligible.
- (d) **Food Inspection Organisation of ASC** ... Age 20-27 years. Passed MSc degree in Chemistry/Bio-chemistry with two years research experience in technology or bio-chemistry of foods. Married candidates eligible.
 - (e) **AEC** ... Age 23-27 years. MA/MSc in 1st or 2nd Division in Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics and English plus a degree/diploma in teaching or 3 years' teaching experience in Higher Secondary school/college/university. Married candidates eligible.

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